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BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE RENAISSANCE AND THE REFORMATION

Submitted by

Edna Mary McGlynn

(A.B., Boston University, 1927)

In partial fulfilment of requirements for

the degree of Master of Arts

1928

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The Renaissance

The Renaissance, though a clearly recognizable movement in human history, like the Middle Ages or any other period set off artificially from the rest of time, has no precise date of beginning or end. Some historians state that the Renaissance continues to the present time; others, that it ended with the outbreak of the Reformation, and still others that it fused with the Reformation and became a part of it. The date of the beginning of the Renaissance is no more exact; some would have the Renaissance start with the reign of Emperor Frederick II (1215), others with the death of Dante (1321), and still others with the Fall of Constantinople (1453), though the latter date would seem to be quite late.

I. General Statement of the Various Phases of the Renaissance.

The beginning and the end of the Renaissance may be indefinite, but this at least is clear: that the Renaissance was an intellectual movement in all phases of human life, that practically revolutionized the world. There were numerous causes contributing to this great upheaval, many not immediate, but remote and involved, growing out of the distant past. During the Middle Ages a general fusion of varied factors was taking place, and the result was the Renaissance. The old classical Roman and Greek culture and civilization had been eclipsed by the barbarian invasion, but was not entirely dead. Faint traces of the old spirit still lived in southern

Italy and Byzantium. Christianity was at work civilizing the German tribes who had overrun western and southern Europe. The German peoples, while absorbing the Christian ideals, did not lose their native Teutonic individualism, and when the process of the merging of ancient culture, Christianity, and German individualism was complete, the world was ready for the Renaissance. The Renaissance was not a mere revival of learning; it was a new outlook on life common to the whole people. During the Middle Ages Christianity had been the dominating influence, with its religion of obligations, of recognition of rights and duties, and of the subordination of the individual for the good of the whole society. The Renaissance, on the other hand, while not primarily denouncing Catholicity, stood for the glorification of the individual. The nature of the Renaissance is well described by Stone, who says, "It was in league with the most elementary cravings of the heart for happiness in this world, and it has often been described as nothing more or less than the resurrection from the winding sheet of a dead past to the splendor and sunshine of long forgotten arts and sciences, from the worship of a crucified and agonizing Christ to the worship of His living, pulsating humanity, and to the enjoyment of all natural beauty. Its motive power was human sympathy..." (1)

The Renaissance was concerned with all the interests of humanity, as it was essentially human. It effected a

(1) J.M. Stone, Renaissance and Reformation, page 112.

revolution in art, in architecture, painting, and sculpture, through the recovery of antique monuments, and the blending of classical learning and feeling with those of the Middle Ages. In literature, philosophy and theology, the Renaissance meant the discovery of manuscripts, the development of a critical knowledge of the classics, a passion for the ancient philosophy, and the Protestant Reformation. In science came notable achievements, such as the solar system of Copernicus and Galileo, the knowledge of anatomy due to Vesalius, Harvey's theory of the circulation of the blood, and in general the origin of the modern scientific method. In economics there was a complete revolution resulting from the downfall of the feudal system, the growth of cities, increase in trade, and exploration and exploitation of the New World, aided by recent inventions and discoveries. In the field of law there was a turning from the medieval systems and the Canons of the Church to an investigation and adoption of the true ancient text of the Roman Code, and toward the end of the period with the growth of nations, to a commencement of the study of international law. In ecclesiastical circles the Renaissance brought the breaking up of the idea of a universal Church, the rise of national churches, the spirit of inquiry in religious matters, and the decision of the individual to prefer his own conscience to constituted authority. Politically the Renaissance meant the transformation of feudalism, the death of the idea of the universal authority of the Emperor, the growth of monarchy, and the

consolidation of well organized, compact nations.

II. Political Changes of the Renaissance.

1. The rise of nationalism.

The political changes that took place before and during the Renaissance were widespread; they influenced the development of the whole Renaissance movement, and were a direct cause of the Reformation. During the Middle Ages the pre-dominant political institutions were feudalism and empire. Theoretically, the Holy Roman Emperor was the successor of the western Caesars in temporal power; the Pope was the successor of Peter, the vicar of Christ, and was supreme in spiritual power. In practice, however, but few of the emperors had any substantial power except as derived from their own feudal holdings, and the uncertainty of the limits between temporal and spiritual power led to constant conflicts between Emperor and Pope. The Papacy on the whole, however, succeeded better than the Emperors, and reached the height of its power under Innocent III, in the fulfilment of its claims to temporal as well as spiritual power. During the Middle Ages, in western Europe the Papacy's claim to supreme spiritual power was never successfully questioned. Such was the extent of the idea of universality.

Feudalism on the other hand, dominated the life of the times; practically supreme in central and western Europe, it had somewhat less, though important, influence in Italy and England. Feudalism was the exact opposite of universality; it was a centrifugal rather than a unifying force. A

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long and complicated process of sub-infeudation resulted in local patriotism, manorial independence, the growth of the nobility, the vanishing of the power of kings, and the serfdom of the people. Communication was difficult, trade was almost non-existent, and nationalism was unknown. Then at the end of the Middle Ages, causing and forming a part of both Renaissance and Reformation, came the awakening of the spirit of nationality with its resulting international struggles and conquests.

It was not until the Hundred Years War that the national feeling was definitely present. Before, there had been a few traces, but only here and there, as in England and in France. The feeling against the Church displayed in Edward I's reign in the statute of "Mortmain", 1279, would seem to indicate the national spirit as opposed to that of the universal Church; the calling of the Model Parliament in 1295 is clearly indicative of the existence of a nation. In France, as in England, an important factor in the Renaissance and the beginning of the Reformation is evident in the action of the people and clergy, who supported Philip IV in his struggle with Boniface VIII. In the Hundred Years War, however, there can be no doubt as to the importance of nationality; the patriotism of the English yeomen was in great measure responsible for the early English victories; and French love of country, gradually developing under the leadership of the Capetian kings, reached its culmination in the latter part of the war under Jeanne d'Arc, who was henceforth to be the symbol of

from and simplified process of subordination revealed in
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and of the people. Communication was difficult, there was
almost no-transport, and nationalities were unknown. Then at the
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discovered and colonized, came the weakening of the civil
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consequence.

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for the early English victories; and French love of country,
especially developing under the leadership of the Dauphin
Charles, remained the salvation in the latter part of the war
under Louis XI, who was remembered to be the symbol of

French nationalism.

In the other countries of Europe the same centralizing influence was being felt. Scotch patriotism responded to the call of Wallace and Bruce in the struggle for independence. Bohemia, which had never formed an integral part of the Empire and had little interest in Imperial politics, was formed into one country by the brilliant conquests of Otto-kar II and the struggle of the Hussite movement for a separate, national church. Spain was not finally united until 1492, but the long wars with the Mohammedan Moors bound the people together and developed a national feeling which, unlike that of the other countries of Europe, was not averse to ecclesiastical authority, temporal or spiritual. The chief exceptions to the general movement were Italy and Germany.

In Italy the national movement lagged. Among the varied reasons for this might be enumerated the power of the Emperor and the Papacy, the survival of the local patriotism of ancient cities and the interest in the intellectual advancement of the people. During the long wars between the Emperor and the Pope each side, in trying to get control of the entire peninsula, kept the sections of Italy separate. The cities aided first one faction and then the other, by this means preserving their own independence. Furthermore, the patriotism of the Italian people centered around the cities, whose individual history extended back to the time of the Roman Empire. City commerce and city expansion were more vital than the unification of Italy. A few individuals such as Petrarch, desired

a united Italy. The Italian people during this period were becoming more interested in literature and art than were the people of the north, consequently the early Renaissance took the place of nationalism and religious upheaval; and intellectual emancipation was preferred to political consolidation.

Germany likewise was excepted from the general movement toward nationalism. The name Germany was merely a geographical expression. State warred against state, and city against city. The rival ambitions of princes and knights kept the country in turmoil. The only signs of union were that "they might conspire against Caesar, or the peasant might rise up against them." (1)

The Golden Bull of 1356, although in some respects like England's Magna Carta, prevented any further unification of Germany, because of the prestige of the electors, the indivisibility of their territory, and the law of primogeniture. Germany was to be a confederation of principalities, and not a nation. The Emperors did not follow the example of the successful kings of other nations, and attempt to unite Germany by allying with the middle class, but wasted energy on vain attempts to conquer Italy, or sought personal aggrandizement at the expense of weaker members of the Empire. Germany, then, like Italy, torn by sectional strife was little influenced by the nationalistic movement; yet the comparison

(1) Pollard, A.F., Cambridge Modern History, Vol II, chap. v, p. 142.

may not be carried too far, for while Italy turned from nationalism to the artistic achievements of the Renaissance, Germany turned to introspection and an analysis of Patriotic literature which led to the Reformation.

Nationality, in most countries, was well developed by the end of the fourteenth century. At the Council of Constance, which opened in 1414, national parties were quite in evidence. (1) The alliance between the Emperor Sigismund and England was brought prominently into the foreground. The French looked upon the connection with suspicion and began to consider the political welfare of France rather than the reform of the Church.

The reasons for the growth of nationalism at this time are not difficult to find. The growth of the middle class, combined with the monarchy, gave nationalism probably its greatest impetus. The increase in trade, and the development of new markets resulting from the Crusades, brought wealth to the cities, and strengthened the middle class. Peace and unity are necessary for expanding commerce; the feudal nobility could not and would not keep the peace and destroy their own power, consequently the traders united with the monarchs; cities were given charters; justice was more easily procured; feudal warfare gave way to the king's peace; and the king became the symbol of prosperity and of nationalism.

(1) Creighton, M., History of the Papacy, Vol II, page 83.

The monarchs, aided by the middle class, attacked the temporal power of the Church, and questioned the jurisdiction of the clergy. The increasing wealth of the Church, and the clerical financial system were combatted by the kings in the interest especially of the middle class. Gradually nationalism became identified with anti-clericalism and the desire for national churches independent of Roman control.

The growing of nationality was also powerfully aided by the legists. From the middle of the thirteenth century the University of Bologna assumed importance as the seat of the revived study of Roman jurisprudence. "The legists were the natural defenders of the state, the powerful auxiliaries of the kings.....The Hierarchy were confronted by a body of learned men, the guardians of a venerable code, who claimed for the kings the rights of Caesar, and could bring forward in opposition to the Canons of the Church, canons of an earlier date."(1)

Another cause for the growth of the feeling of nationalism, was the greater dignity gradually afforded the vernacular languages and the rise of national literature. Latin, formerly a universal language, was used only by the learned classes. The common people spoke in tongues resultant from the breaking down of the Latin and the intermingling with it of Teutonic and Gallic characteristics. The recognition of these vernaculars, by such men as Dante, Petrarch, and Chaucer, was a cause of local and national pride, and did much to stir up national patriotism.

(1) Fisher, G.P., The Reformation, page 36.

the movement, which in the middle of the nineteenth century, was the
beginning of the nation, and questioned the political
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The growth of nationalism was also powerfully aided by
the fact that from the middle of the nineteenth century the
necessity of national unity and independence on the part of the
various states of Europe had become a necessity. The nations were the
natural balance of the state, the powerful auxiliaries of
the king. . . . The monarchs were supported by a body of
nobles and the gentry, and a venerable code, who claimed
for the king the right of God, and could bring forward
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(1) Chapter 1. The Nationalism of the Middle Ages.

Among the first and most notable of the national monarchs, might be mentioned the Emperor Frederick II, king of Sicily, and Louis IX, king of France. Both were essentially modern in the consolidation of their states, the undermining of the power of the nobility, the establishment of a well organized system of justice, and the governing by national officials depending entirely upon themselves. Frederick, unlike Louis, did not use tact in dealing with the clergy, and ruined his cause eventually by alienating the cities.

The growth of nationality during the Renaissance became an accomplished fact. Kings and people revolted against Empire and Papacy, and philosophers were not wanting to justify the new movement. Among the early vindicators of nationalism the most notable are Marsilius of Padua and William of Occam. Both held to the nominalistic system of thought, and from it formulated new political theories. They cast aside the medieval reverence for the spiritual power as opposed to the temporal, and encouraged by Louis, the Bavarian, declared that nationalism and monarchy should be supreme, and that the Church should not interfere in secular affairs. These Philosophers held that the monarchy was sanctioned by Roman law, and that the state alone could procure permanent peace. They sought to undermine the Petrine theory and the structure of the Church based upon it, by approving the conciliar movement, which would provide for lay influence within the Church in matters of ecclesiastical government, in faith, and in morals. Marsilius of Padua and William of Occam may be considered then as the ablest exponents of the new order; who

discarded monarchy and upheld democracy within the Church; and who encouraged nationalism and absolutism in temporal government. They were the heralds of the Reformation.

The rise of nationalism was a very definite phase of the Renaissance, but more than that, it stimulated other phases of the Renaissance and of the Reformation as well, such as the revival of learning and development of literature, especially in the vernacular. Now that the Crusades were over, national wars and invasions together with commerce, were a means of bringing in new ideas. For example, the invasions of Italy by the French under Charles VIII and Francis I brought France into direct contact with Italian art. Again, as already shown in various instances, the rise of nationalism tended toward further alienation of the Papacy and the lay state. All during the Middle Ages there had been struggles of one kind or another between royal power and the Papacy; the incident at Canossa is well known; the murder of Thomas a'Becket was one phase of the same movement. The growing force of nationality, arrayed against the idea of a universal Empire, was equally antagonistic to the idea of a universal and international Church. Hulme states, "More important in the history of the Middle Ages than the struggle between the empire and the Papacy, was the struggle between the secular and the spiritual power. And this in the last analysis was nothing less than a struggle between the natural instinct of nationality and the universal authority of the Church." (1)

(1) Hulme, E.M., Renaissance and Reformation, page 55.

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It is evident that whatever causes of discontent might arise concerning the Church in later years, the spirit of nationality, justified by Roman law and the nominalistic philosophy, would demand reform, not in sympathy with the existing institution, but as against the universal Papal authority and the foreign Roman hierarchy of the Church.

2. Political Situation in Italy.

The political situation in Italy, the home of the revival of learning, deserves brief attention. While the growth of nationalism became the dominating factor in the rest of Europe with the exception of Germany, Italy was entering into the period of her history known as the "Age of Despots". To consider all that took place during the period in the numerous cities would involve entirely too much detail; the main force working throughout the peninsula should be considered, however, in order to see what effect the political situation had upon the Renaissance and Reformation.

After the time of Frederick II the Empire played no important part in Italy; numerous emperors invaded the country and met with defeat or temporary victory, but the influence of the Empire was no longer of any great importance. The ancient foe of the Empire, the Papacy, had reached the height of its temporal power under Innocent III, and now became more involved in European politics, being subjected during this period to the "Babylonian Captivity" and the great Schism. Hence the Empire and the Papacy are no longer to be considered to any great extent in Italian politics.

It is evident that whatever change of direction might arise concerning the Church in later years, the spirit of nationalism, justified by Roman law and the constitutional philosophy, would demand reform, not in sympathy with the existing institution, but as against the universal Roman authority and the foreign Roman hierarchy of the Church.

2. Political Situation in Italy.

The political situation in Italy, the stage of the revival of learning, deserves brief attention. While the growth of nationalism began the dominating factor in the rest of Europe with the exception of Germany, Italy was scarcely late the period of her history known as the "Age of Feudalism". To consider all these things during the period in the same group seems hardly necessary, but the fact is that the same forces existing throughout the peninsula would be considered, however, in order to see what effect the political situation had upon the Renaissance and Reformation.

After the time of Frederick II the Empire played no part in Italy; numerous barons invaded the country and set their hands on hereditary viceroyalty, but the influence of the Empire was no longer of any great importance. The emperor, the Pope, the French, had reached the height of the temporal power under Innocent III, and now became more involved in European politics, being subjected during this period to the "Papal Interdict" and the great schism. Since the Empire and the Papacy are no longer so considered in my great extent in Italian politics.

The cities of Italy always more free from feudalism than the cities of northern Europe, taking advantage of the weakness of the Empire, rebelled against the feudal overlords and became independent communes. Political turmoil did not end with independence; it had hardly begun. At first the Bishops were the highest authority in the communes, aided in governing by consuls, parliaments and councils. The Bishops, however, were soon deprived of their places as leaders in the communes by the podesta, who in turn gave way to the captains of the people. The tyrants next gained control, basing their power upon the favor of the middle class; but the tyrants soon were replaced by the despots, and in some instances by the roving condottieri. During all these changes Italy was in constant turmoil. City fought with city, and faction with faction. The guilds, major and minor were rising, increasing material prosperity, but adding to the universal rivalries and confusion. The old parties of Guelphs and Ghibellines still waged war, and although their original significance was forgotten, their mutual bitterness was still the cause of bloodshed and chaos. Exiles driven from their native cities by successful enemies, aided by allies eager for spoils, returned to overthrow the government. And yet, paradoxical as it may seem, it was this variety of conditions offered by the Italian communities of the time that fostered the unexampled richness of the Italian Renaissance. To the despots, in part, the credit belongs for

the encouragement of the native Italian genius, during this stormy period, for the despot was more cautious and more clever than the tyrant whom he replaced. The despot, unlike the tyrant, endeavored not to secure the aid of one party, but to destroy parties. He tried to win the sympathies of the people by sharing their desires and promoting their welfare; he encouraged industry and was the patron of art. He urged the Italians to look back at the glory of ancient Rome, and to imitate that splendor. Thus the despot encouraged the revival of the old Latin literature and arts. "To be a prince and not to be the patron of scholarship, the pupil of humanists, and the founder of libraries, was an impossibility. (1)

A comparison of these political changes of Italy with the contemporary growth of nationalism in the north, does much to explain the relation between the political aspects of the Renaissance and the Reformation. Where nationalism was of importance in the politics of the Renaissance, there the mind of the people was turned toward nationalism within the universal Church. The temporal power of the Church, and the temporal ambitions of the state came soon into conflict, and in the struggle national patriotism was victorious. In Italy, however, sectionalism took the place of nationalism, and the mind of the people under the guidance of the despots was directed from national politics to rivalry in the aesthetic field.

(1) Symonds, J.A., Renaissance in Italy, Part I, The Age of Despots, page 80.

The encouragement of the native Italian people, during this
early period, for the sake of their interests and to
show them the extent of their power. The Italian, while
the French, understood not to secure the aid of the party.
to the Italian people. He tried to win the sympathy of
the people by showing their desires and promoting their

interests: he encouraged industry and was the patron of art.
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Rome, and to strive for its restoration. Thus the Italian
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was directed toward national politics to rivalry in the secular
world. 112

3. Machiavelli.

The attitude of the despots and of the people of Italy in general toward government and religion is clearly revealed in the works of Nicolo Machiavelli, a famous Florentine historian and a contemporary of Lorenzo de Medici. Upon the expulsion of the Medici from Florence, in 1494, Machiavelli became a clerk in the Chancery of the Commune. In 1498 he was appointed as chancellor and secretary to the Dieci di liberta e pace. Holding this position until the end of Florentine freedom, he was sent upon numerous diplomatic missions for the republic, such as those to Cesare Borgia in 1502, to France in 1504, to Julius II in 1506, and to Emperor Maximilian in 1507.

During the republic, Machiavelli endeavored to institute a military reform. He saw the failure of the use of mercenaries, hence he planned to create a national militia by placing the whole male population of Florence at the service of the state in times of war. (1) The Florentines agreed to the reform, and took steps to carry it out; but discipline and patriotism were hard to revive, with the result that the Medici returning in 1512, easily defeated the new army and regained control of the city. Machiavelli, although innocent of conspiracy against the great family, was imprisoned in Bargello, until he was released through the influence of Pope Leo X. He then returned to San Casciano where he passed his time writing.

(1) Symonds, J.A., Short History of the Renaissance, page 138.

Machiavelli, like many other noted personages of the Renaissance was an outspoken opponent of religion. Unlike the later reformers, he did not want innovations nor even a return to early Christianity. Of that creed he said: "Our religion requires strength more as a means of bearing suffering than as a means of accomplishing doughty deeds. Thus the world has become a prey to wicked men who, undisturbed, dispose of it as they will." (1) To Machiavelli all religion should be taught by, and should be subordinate to the state; religion even was undesirable if it did not produce loyalty to the state and effective citizenship. Machiavelli was no doubt influenced to this opinion, not only by contemporary conditions, but also by the study of Roman law, which regarded the state as the sole master of all human activity. Machiavelli's reverence for Rome naturally turned his mind toward ideas of monarchy and the union of Italy, however, one strong ruler was necessary, for the cities had consistently failed to attain order and extended power. "Cities", wrote Machiavelli, "that are at once corrupt and accustomed to the rule of princes can never acquire freedom, even though the prince with all his kin be extirpated. One prince is needed to extinguish another; and the city has no rest except by the creation of a new lord, unless it chance that one burgher by his goodness and great qualities may during his lifetime preserve its temporary independence." (2)

(1) Hulme, E.M., Renaissance and Reformation, page 374.

(2) Symonds, J.A., Renaissance in Italy, Part I, Age of Despots, page 84.

Machiavelli's complete rejection of his earlier views of democracy and his reliance upon the idea of one great ruler as the source of peace, are shown in his book, The Prince, written in exile and dedicated to Lorenzo de Medici. In this work Machiavelli declared that the prince, in settling upon a national monarchy, was not to prefer unworthy methods, but he was to be hampered by no scruples. He might use violence and treason, but he must excell all rivals whatever were his methods. The end justified the means. (1) In Machiavelli's eyes the deeds of a prince when working for the state were not to be measured by morals, but only by success.

Machiavelli's other works expand the ideas expressed in The Prince. In his Discourses he shows what institutions are necessary to preserve the state in a condition of vigor and in his seven books on the Art of War, he states that a successful war must be conducted by the ruler in person, leading a great national militia.

The views expressed by Machiavelli, except his desire for a strong national feeling, were generally held throughout Italy during the last part of the fifteenth century. Machiavelli described conditions rather than theorized; his Prince gratified Lorenzo de Medici because it justified the policies of Lorenzo.

The Age of Despots was finally brought to a close at the end of the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth centuries by a new phase in the political life of

(1) Hulme, E.M., Renaissance and Reformation, page 375.

Washington's complete rejection of his earlier views

of democracy and the belief that the idea of one man

is the basis of power, was seen in his book, The

Republic, written in 1885 and published in 1886 as Republic.

In this work Washington had shown that the prince, in con-

trast with a national monarch, was not to be feared

because, but he was to be feared by no one else. He might

be violent and tyrannical, but he was not all-powerful.

Washington was his opponent, as was justified the nation. (2)

In Washington's view the leader of a nation was working for

the nation and not to be feared by anyone else, but only by himself.

Washington's other work, The Republic, was published in

1885. In this book he shows what Washington

was trying to preserve the state in a condition of liberty

and in his view Washington's Republic was the state and a

monarchy was not to be feared by the state in power, but

was a great national institution.

The view expressed by Washington, about his belief

in a strong national feeling, were especially held through-

out the history of the last part of the nineteenth century.

Washington's political philosophy was based on the belief that

the nation was the basis of the political system in America.

The nation of America.

The idea of liberty was brought to a close at

the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth

century was a new phase in the political life of

the nation. (3) Washington and Democracy, page 275.

Italy, the invasions of the northern nations. These were occasioned to a great extent by the mutual animosity of the House of Hapsburg and the House of Valois, and in their turn introduced the Italian Renaissance to the people beyond the Alps, and added to the political causes of the Reformation.

4. Invasions of Italy and their Results.

The first of the invasions of Italy during the Renaissance period was that of the French under Charles VIII. The French dynasty, now that France had been consolidated, looked about for new lands into which to expand, and Italy appeared to be the most desirable contiguous territory. Moreover, the French dynasty had a contested right to a part of Italy, for Louis XI of France had in 1474 dictated to King Rene of Anjou, and in 1481 to the count of Maine, two wills giving the pretensions of the House of Anjou to the Crown of Naples, to the royal family of France. Now on the death of Louis XI, his son, Charles VIII, basing his claims on these wills decided to add to his dominions. In 1494 he set out for Italy. At first Charles was regarded as the Savior of Italy by the common people; the confusion he caused was seized by the rulers to take all possible lands for their personal benefit. In most of the cities of the peninsula Charles was treated as a guest rather than a conqueror; nowhere was he met by effective resistance. The other powers of Europe, however, were not content merely to look on while Charles appropriated the whole of Italy for France; hence

Maximilian of Germany, and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain decided to take action. Alarmed at this combination, Charles decided upon a hasty retreat. The result of the campaign, though seemingly not great, was lasting. The Renaissance, well developed in Italy, was made known to the less cultured northern countries. The French army carried back to France new and changed ideas of art and learning, while the French king not only transported to his native land treasures of art, but encouraged the artists themselves to visit France. Furthermore, a precedent was set, and invasion followed invasion. The old balance of powers between the cities of Italy was broken up as the balance of powers of Europe took its place; and when the balance of Europe was shaken, Italy became the battleground for the northern nations. Maximilian, Emperor of Germany, Charles VIII, King of France, and the Spanish Sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella struggled in Italy; in the next generation Charles V, combining Hapsburg and Aragonese claims, continued the war against the French Sovereign, Francis I. Thus the wars of the Renaissance extended into the sixteenth century, and merged with the wars of the Reformation.

Kings and Emperors were engrossed in the struggle for European supremacy; Popes took part in the wars of conquest, forgetful of their spiritual duties in their endeavors to extend their temporal power; petty nobles sought their own ends during the general confusion; and religious dissatisfaction passed almost unnoticed by those in responsible

positions until the former champions of the Church were exhausted, and powerless to remedy conditions or to stamp out revolt.

III. Economic Aspects of the Renaissance

1. Increase in Commerce.

In addition to the political aspects of the times, the economic phase is also important in a consideration of the relation between the Renaissance and Reformation. During the Renaissance, and particularly during the sixteenth century, there was an enormous revolution in all branches of commerce and industry, so that the period may be described as that of a definite transition from the medieval to the modern economic system, from the independent manorial unit to international capitalism.

Throughout the Middle Ages, of course, there had been some commerce, mainly on the Mediterranean, that of Byzantium, and Venice and her rivals, but over the greater part of Europe there had been very little inter-communication or commerce. With the coming of the Renaissance and the increased interest of Europeans in other peoples and other products, trade developed rapidly, at first on the Mediterranean. In the north, trade increased, but more slowly. Annual, or more frequent, fairs were held in many cities. For generations Antwerp held two such fairs a year, and finally in 1484, a perpetual market open to all merchants, including foreigners, was opened. London, as her size and wealth grew, soon followed the example of Antwerp in the

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examined, and however it is really condition of the
the result.

1. Economic condition of the colonies

1.1. The colonies in general

In addition to the political aspect of the colonies,
economic aspect is also important in the consideration of the
relation between the colonies and the mother country.

The colonies, and particularly during the nineteenth
century, there was an economic revolution in all branches
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with its international cooperation.

Throughout the Middle Ages, of course, there had been
some commerce, mainly on the Mediterranean, that of Spain,
Italy, and Venice and her rivals, but over the greater part
of Europe there had been very little inter-communication
or commerce. With the fall of the Mamelukes and the
increased interest of Europeans in other peoples and other
regions, trade developed rapidly, at first on the Mediter-
ranean. In the north, trade increased, but more slowly,
until, at some important points, there were held the great
European fairs which held two such fairs a year, and
finally in 1494, a permanent market open to all countries,
the London fair, was opened. London, as far as the
world was, then followed the example of Liverpool in the

matter of permanent fairs.(1) The cities of northern Germany, particularly along the Rhine, had flourished early, and in the thirteenth century the Hanseatic League not only waxed strong in its native Rhineland, but assimilated the growing cities on the Oder, the Danube, the Vistula, and even the Thames. In the Baltic Sea, the outstanding representative of the Hausa was Wisby.

Trade, while aiding the growth of cities, continued to expand. Goods were obtained from the Orient by overland routes, although Europeans but seldom ventured much farther east than Byzantium, the caravan traveling being left to Mohammedans, who were incidentally the thoroughly experienced "profiteers" of the day. The return of Marco Polo and a few other less famous adventurers to western Europe from the East, gave the traders of the Occident a more accurate conception of the real value of the products they had been paying for so dearly, and as a result instigated a search for more direct approaches to the markets of India and China. The Fall of Constantinople in 1453, and the consequent closing of the eastern routes, doubtless also provided an additional incentive to daring mariners to find a new and satisfactory water route to the distant treasure lands. The Portuguese discoveries and explorations in Africa and the East were the result of commercial necessity, as were also the exploits of the Spanish in the new western world. The economic results of the discoveries of

(1) Smith, P., Age of Reformation, pages 531 and 534.

the fifteenth century were immediate. All kinds of material wealth, particularly gold, flowed into Europe. Both Spain and Portugal endeavored to establish monopolies on their trade with their new colonies and trading posts, but to no permanent avail; Spanish gold soon circulated throughout the nations of Europe. From 1520 to 1560 the rise in prices was steady though quite slow, but from 1560 to 1600 prices rose rapidly. On the whole, throughout the century, the increase in prices on ordinary commodities rose several hundred per cent. For example, wheat rose in England 150 per cent, in France 200 per cent, and in Germany 300 per cent.(1) The merchants of northern Europe enjoyed unprecedented luxuries; the nobles, jealous of the enriched middle class, insisted on the same extravagances, and resorted to oppression of the peasantry. Wages, on the other hand, failed to rise proportionately; government regulation in some cases aided in many ways to further impoverish the lower classes. The result was eventually degradation of the social status of the lower classes, and the outbursts in the form of peasant revolts all over northern Europe. The peasants, despairing of the improvement of their condition without revolt, also took up the new religions of the Reformation as an additional means of bettering their economic status, since many of the new interpretations of the Gospel apparently sanctioned communism, now particularly acceptable to the peasants as a class. Italian wealth, on the other hand, though perhaps not increas-

(1) Smith, P., Age of Reformation, page 573.

The first of these was the fact that the British Government had been unable to secure the necessary financial resources to carry out its policy of maintaining the status quo in the Middle East. This was due to a combination of factors, including the high cost of maintaining a large military presence in the region, the need to provide financial aid to the British Empire, and the fact that the British Government had been unable to secure the necessary financial resources to carry out its policy of maintaining the status quo in the Middle East. This was due to a combination of factors, including the high cost of maintaining a large military presence in the region, the need to provide financial aid to the British Empire, and the fact that the British Government had been unable to secure the necessary financial resources to carry out its policy of maintaining the status quo in the Middle East.

ing proportionately as much as the wealth of other European countries, was used in great measure to aid in the revival of learning and the development of Art for public rather than for private benefit. The extreme poverty of the lower classes and the resultant religious disaffection, so prominent in the rest of Europe, was not observable to any great degree in Italy because the feudal system, now breaking down in the north, had never been strongly established, whereas commerce had been of importance all through the Middle Ages.

2. Growth of Banking.

With the growth of commerce the next important and necessary economic change was the growth of banking. During the latter Middle Ages banking had been started, but was no great necessity, because the habitual conduct of industry relying upon borrowed money, was practically unknown. The banks that existed, were commonly run by goldsmiths and Jews, and were on the whole, discouraged by the Church, as opposed to Canon law; usury or interest was not sanctioned by the Church. "Dulcissima rerum possessio communis est". "Avaritia" was considered to be idolatry; "cupiditas" was the root of all evil; and agriculture "Deo non displicet", whereas the merchant "Deo placere non potest". (1) Canon law was over-ridden by the economic forces of the Renaissance, however, and banking, necessary for commerce, flourished. In Florence, the bank of Thomas Guadagni in 1529 had a capital of \$1,170,000, and the House of Fugger in Augsburg in 1546 had a capital of \$11,500,000 distinct from the personal wealth of its members, (1) Ingram, J.K. A history of Political Economy, page 25.

a sum almost inconceivable in medieval days. There were other banks of hardly less importance, such as the Welsers and the Haugs of Augsburg, and their profits were enormous, sometimes as high as twenty per cent per annum. The influence of these banking houses can hardly be overestimated. In politics, they financed princes and made possible numerous wars; in religious matters, they aided rather than hindered the coming of the Reformation, as in the case of the Fuggers, who were involved in the proclamation of the Leonine indulgences. In Italy, the new economic forces in agriculture, manufacturing and commerce, helped to make possible the rule of the despots, who worked by bribery, and who encouraged industry and commerce to the destruction of factions, as in the case of the Medici of Florence, who had been merchants until Lorenzo turned his attention to affairs of state, merchants became princes and ruled over the old landed nobility. The revival of learning was greatly facilitated by these new economic conditions. The despots and the merchants often appreciated art, and almost always used art as a means of creating popularity. Magnificent buildings, beautiful paintings and sculptures captivated the imagination of the lower classes and aroused their patriotism. Monarchs could use art now as a prop to their thrones because they could afford it; learned men and artists graced the courts of all the famous kings, nobles and condottieri alike. Thus in Italy the changed economic conditions of the Renaissance aided in the revival of learning, while in northern Europe they helped prepare the way for the Refor-

mation.

IV. The Revival of Learning

To understand the revival of learning it is necessary to consider briefly the place that learning held during the Middle Ages. At the downfall of the Roman Empire the old Graeco-Roman culture was almost totally destroyed by the invasions of the Teutons, which swept over southern and western Europe; and practically the only traces of the ancient civilization that remained were in southern Italy, in Byzantium, and in a few scattered monasteries. It was the Church that then assumed the duty of civilizing the Teutonic tribes; and throughout the Middle Ages, its greatest objects were to bring culture to those already within the Church, and to extend Christianity beyond the bounds of the old Roman Empire. In addition to the religious aspects of life, the Church during the Middle Ages, stressed the social obligations of the individual; the good of the whole group was to be considered beyond that of any man. The learning of the Middle Ages, that developed as the centuries passed, centered chiefly on religion and philosophy, and the Scholastic system of thought was developed. Here also the authority of the Church and the necessity of preparation for the life beyond the grave were stressed. During this period there was no distinct development of literature, art was dedicated entirely to the Church, and science was neglected. In connection with science it is important to note, in order to understand the attitude of the Church during the Renaissance,

1. The history of the movement

In understanding the history of the movement it is necessary to consider the various phases of its development. The first phase is the period of its origin, which is characterized by the fact that it was a movement of the masses, and not a movement of the elite. The second phase is the period of its growth, which is characterized by the fact that it was a movement of the masses, and not a movement of the elite. The third phase is the period of its maturity, which is characterized by the fact that it was a movement of the masses, and not a movement of the elite. The fourth phase is the period of its decline, which is characterized by the fact that it was a movement of the masses, and not a movement of the elite. The fifth phase is the period of its extinction, which is characterized by the fact that it was a movement of the masses, and not a movement of the elite.

and throughout the Middle Ages the Church was not hostile to science in itself as incompatible with religion, but felt that science was unnecessary to the peasant, struggling for material existence in this world and for salvation in the next, and that it was harmful rather than beneficial, since scientific knowledge, misunderstood by the ignorant, led to confusion and to danger in matters of religion and politics. (1)

The classics, whose resurrection is so commonly associated with the term, Renaissance, were not entirely unknown in the Middle Ages; they were copied and studied in the monasteries, and later in the universities. "We should, however, say too much, were we to assert for these times an immediate evidence of originality in the cultivation of literature and science, the discovery of new truths, or the production of grand ideas; as yet men sought only to comprehend the ancients, nor thought of going beyond them. The efficacy of the classics lay not so much in the impulse given to production and the growth of a creative spirit in literature, as in the habit of imitation that their works called forth. (2)

The Renaissance with its changed attitude and point of view came gradually, and was apparent in that country where it was most to be expected, in Italy. The causes for the revival of learning are hard to assign; the political and economic development in Europe, probably had much influence; the gradual development of learning through the Middle Ages, may have only reached a natural culmination in the Renaissance; psychological factors undoubtedly played their part.

(1) Burckhardt, Renaissance in Italy, page 10.

(2) Ranke, L. von, History of the Popes, Vol. I, page 47.

The revival of learning however, was first associated with Italy, and naturally so, since Italy had both material remains of ancient splendor, legends of a glorious past, and contact with the East.

In the court of Frederick II there were evidences of the revival of learning and of the spirit of the Renaissance. Greek was commonly used, for Greek in southern Italy had never quite died out; Greek versions of the law were issued, and Calabrian poets sang the praises of Frederick in Greek verse, though there were few Greek scholars or Greek translators worthy of mention.(1) Frederick was interested in science, and learning was centered in his court, rather than in the universities. Frederick's toleration, which urged him to extend patronage to Jewish and Mohammedan scholars, as well as Christian, foreshadowed the attitude of the later Renaissance, not only of kings and nobles, but even of the Popes. And strange as it may seem, it was at Naples, during the reign of Frederick II, that no less a person than Thomas of Aquinas, the greatest of scholastic philosophers, began his study of natural philosophy under an Irish master, Peter de Hibernia.(2) Aside from the consideration of learning, there were other traces of the spirit of the Renaissance in Frederick. His interest in Crusades, from a practical rather than a religious point of view, his attempt to unify Italy, and his defiance of the Church, are characteristic of the modern rather than the medieval man.

(1) Haskins, C.H., *Science at the Court of the Emperor Frederick II*, page 671.

(2) *Ibid*, page 677.

The review of learning however, was first associated with
early, and naturally so, about 1840 had been referred to
value of ancient languages, however of a different kind, and
contact with the East.

In the spirit of Frederick II there was evidence of
the revival of learning and of the revival of the sciences.

There was certainly need, for much in western Italy and
never quite died out, but the revival of the late was limited.
and Catholic power and the revival of Frederick II were
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science, and learning was revived in his court, which was
in the universities. Frederick's education, which was
his to extend beyond to Jewish and Mohammedan sciences.
he fell as Christian, Frederick was the attitude of the late
of knowledge, not only of things and things, but even of
the force, and perhaps as it may seem, it was as before, but
had the spirit of Frederick II, that he was a person than

Thomas of Aquinas, the greatest of scholastic philosophers,
when his study of natural philosophy under an Italian master.
Peter de Abano (2) said from the consideration of

learning, that was after the first of the revival of the
science of Frederick, his interest in learning, from a
that rather than a religious point of view, his interest
fully lively, and his attitude of the human, was of a

kind of the modern rather than the medieval.
(1) Frederick II, King of the Germans
Frederick II, King of
(2) 1212, King of

The revival of learning itself need be considered in no great detail; only those aspects of the revival will be touched upon, which illustrate the relation between the Renaissance and the Reformation.

The awakening interest in classical literature was greatly accelerated by Petrarch, whose passion for ancient manuscripts urged him on to the discovery of many Latin writers, and his successors to the study of Greek. The interest in ancient literature was firmly established in Italy, when in 1453 the Fall of Constantinople sent a stream of refugees westward, carrying with them Byzantine treasures, hitherto unknown to the Italian scholars. The desire for knowledge of the ancient world, was identified even with the Papacy; Nicholas V sent private agents to Constantinople to rescue all manuscripts possible. It was this same Pope who built up the Vatican library, and who patronized the leading men of letters, architects, and artists of the day. (1)

In the field of original literature, Dante had, in his *Divine Comedy*, summarized the whole philosophy of the Middle Ages, but he had introduced the Renaissance, in that he had written in a vernacular language and had made use of classics. Petrarch, influenced by his love of the classics, wrote what he considered to be his best work, in Latin, but his sonnets to Laura, written in Italian, have won for him lasting fame, and he is rightly called in some respects,

(1) Stone, J.M. *Renaissance and Reformation*, page 121.

the greatest of the humanists.(1) Among the other early writers of the Renaissance, should be mentioned Boccaccio, who in addition to his contributions to learning, was the first to seek to justify the pleasures of the carnal life. His temperament, uninfluenced by asceticism, found a congenial element in the amorous legends of antiquity. His work was a transition from the chivalry of early Italian poets to the sensuality of Beccadelli and Pontario. (2) Speaking of Boccaccio, Stone is less favorable. "Of his sins against taste and style, Boccaccio was perhaps never conscious; his enthusiasm for Dante and his reverence for Petrarch do not imply any correct view of either". La Flammetta redolent of life, and of a certain sensuous charm, may be considered the limit of his powers of poetical feeling and expression".(3) Contemporaneous with Boccaccio, was Chaucer, the great English writer, whose Canterbury Tales, written in the vernacular, were a determining influence in the formation of the English language. Chaucer, however, unlike his Italian contemporaries, had no immediate successors, and the Renaissance in England did not develop until a later date.

The most brilliant period of Italian literature, however, ended with Boccaccio. During the fifteenth century, the humanists, intent upon the classics, imitated the ancients, and deemed it below their dignity to use the vulgar tongue. (4)

(1) Symonds, J.A., Short History of the Renaissance, page 124.

(2) Ibid, page 127.

(3) Stone, J.M., Renaissance and Reformation, page 117.

(4) Symonds, J.A., Short History of the Renaissance, page 241.

Only here and there was a humanist of the first rank, who, like Bruni, was interested in Italian.

" 'In the vulgar idiom', said Vespasiano, 'one can represent nothing with ornament as one can in Latin'. All that had hitherto been written in Italian was as if it did not exist for the humanists. Even Dante was translated into Latin hexameter by Matteo Ronto." (1) Although Latin was used consistently by the great humanists, by the year 1520 "the victory of the mother tongue in tragedy and comedy was, to the great disgust of the humanists, as good as won." (2) As a result of the interest in vernacular languages, even in the opening stage of the Renaissance, the Bible was translated, of course with the approval of the Church, into the varied European tongues, and these vernacular editions were scattered widely throughout Christendom. (3) The leaders of the Reformation, Wiclif, Luther, Tyndale, and others, likewise translated the Bible, preferring not the Latin, but the vernacular tongue for the benefit of the common people.

In the history and in biography written during the Renaissance period, the element of individualism was ever present. The writers used ancient philosophy to aid their judgment, and they criticised the past in the light of their own experience. In poetry also, individualism was the dominant note. As early as Brunetto Latine, the teacher of Dante, is

- (1) Stone, J.M., Renaissance and Reformation, footnote, page 118, taken from Philippe Monier, Le Quattrocento, Vol. I, p. 123.
- (2) Burckhardt, J., Renaissance in Italy, Vol. II, page 49.
- (3) Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 12, page 766.

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to be found a variation from the old standards, for in his "Canzoni" Latine adopted the first known "Versi Sciolti", and in this apparent absence of form he succeeded in showing fine and genuine feeling. The development of the sonnet, from the thirteenth century on, "became for Italian literature, a condenser of thought and emotions, such as was possessed by the poetry of no other modern people". (1)

The discussion of individualism should not be confined to mere mention in connection with biography, history or poetry, for it was a prime factor in the development of art, as well as in the growth of nationality, and later during the Reformation, in the changes brought about in religion. "The story of the Renaissance is the story of the revival of the individual in science, invention and discovery, in art, in literature, and in religion. The deep underlying cause of the Renaissance was the revival of the individual." (2)

Although individualism is very probably a cause of the Renaissance, it was in turn influenced by a study of the classics, particularly in Greek. That the Greeks were individualistic, is clearly displayed by the perfection and diversity of Greek art, even though in matters of government, the state was placed above the individual.

Coupled with individualism, especially in the fine arts, was naturalism. During the Middle Ages the attitude of man toward nature was very different from that displayed during

(1) Burckhardt, J., Renaissance in Italy, Vol. II, page 40.

(2) Hulme, E.M., Renaissance and Reformation, page 61.

to be found a variation from the old standard. In the
"Journal" Berlin adopted the first known "Vierteljahr", and
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The discussion of individualism should not be con-
fined to mere mention in connection with history, history
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Compare with individualism especially in the time when
was individualism. During the Middle Ages the individual of man
toward nature was very different from that displayed during
(13) Renaissance. In the Renaissance in Italy, for example, the
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the Renaissance. Speaking of the people of the Middle Ages, Stone says, "it cannot with truth be maintained that they pronounced 'an anathema on nature altogether'. Rather be it said that theirs was a still more harmonious conception of the true meaning of all created beauty.....Thus it may be fairly claimed that the medieval mind idealized nature and ran it up to the supernatural, while the Renaissance presented it in a more concrete form, and ultimately degraded it into a mere naturalism." (1) The medieval artist could not compare in skill with the artist of the Renaissance yet there is much truth in the statement that the latter lacked much of the sanctity of the former. The ideal in beauty in the Renaissance was sensuous; in the early ages it had been spiritual.

Architecture, always the first of the fine arts to rise from barbarism, was immediately affected by the classical revival of the fifteenth century, and Brunelleschi's visit to Rome in 1403 may be fixed as the date of the Renaissance in this art. (2)

The development of painting soon followed. "Beginning as the handmaid of the Church, and stimulated by the enthusiasm of the two great popular monastic orders, painting was at first devoted to embodying the thoughts of medieval Christianity. In proportion as the painters fortified themselves by the study of the natural world, their art became

(1) Stone, J.M., Renaissance and Reformation, page 113 .

(2) Symonds, J.A., Short History of the Renaissance, page 202.

the Renaissance. Speaking of the people of the Middle Ages, he says, "It would be vain to maintain that they possessed 'an enthusiasm of nature'...". He then goes on to say that there was a solid and harmonious conception of the world and of all created things...". He then goes on to say that the medieval mind was not divided between the material and the spiritual, but was united in a more complete form, and ultimately regarded it as a more complete form. The medieval mind could not separate its mind from the world of the senses, and it was in this sense that the medieval mind was united with the world of the senses. The medieval mind was not divided between the material and the spiritual, but was united in a more complete form, and ultimately regarded it as a more complete form. The medieval mind could not separate its mind from the world of the senses, and it was in this sense that the medieval mind was united with the world of the senses. The medieval mind was not divided between the material and the spiritual, but was united in a more complete form, and ultimately regarded it as a more complete form. The medieval mind could not separate its mind from the world of the senses, and it was in this sense that the medieval mind was united with the world of the senses.

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(1) Renaissance and Reformation, page 115.
(2) Renaissance and Reformation, page 115.

more secular. About the year 1440 this process of secularization was hastened by the influence of the classical revival, renewing an interest in the past life of humanity, and stirring a zeal for science." (1) Perhaps the first painter to be identified with the Renaissance movement was Cimabue, who did not turn entirely from the Byzantine manner, yet did express more natural life and emotion than that seen in medieval art. His pupil Giotto, is more in accord with the ideals of the coming Renaissance. "Giotto deifies the human figure as Michelangelo was to deify it later. The impassive idols of the Byzantine style, put on, with him an earthly beauty, bodily solidarity, and moral grandeur". "Color no longer understood as the very essence of art, becomes the instrument of representative truth and relief." (2)

In sculpture, as in painting, naturalism was supreme. Even in Michelangelo's work, this treatment of the human body was more highly praised than any spiritual element to be perceived; "the swelling of muscles received more admiration than the intimate composition of body or scene"(3)

In the later northern revival of art, the same characteristic, naturalism, is apparent as it is in Italy. In the fifteenth century Flemish School, the leaders, notably Johan von Eyck, turned from religious inspiration and tradition to nature. (4)

(1) Symonds, J.A., Short History of the Renaissance, page 218.

(2) Venturi, A., History of Italian Art, page 132.

(3) Ibid, page 276.

(4) Burckhardt, J., Renaissance in Italy, Vol. II, page 28.

Paradoxical as it may seem, combined with their new naturalism, was the element of artificiality; not the remains of medieval artificiality, but the influence of the resurrection of classic art. As the literary styles of Cicero and Vergil were the models for men of letters, so the remains of classic art, were assimilated by the new exuberant art of the Renaissance. (1) In literature, on the other hand, artificiality also displayed itself in a rejection by scholars of antiquity, of the vernacular languages. Penantry often took the place of spontaneity in writing; the humanists preferred the most stilted Latin to the freely flowing vulgar speech.

During the revival of learning, in addition to those already mentioned, perhaps the outstanding characteristics of the period were the paganism manifested in all varieties of art, and the diversity of faculties displayed by the artists. In this age of specialization, the activities of Leonardo da Vinci, as a mathematician, scientist, painter and even politician, seem almost incredible. Michelangelo, perhaps the greatest figure of the period, would still be famous for his architecture and his painting alone, had his sculpture not surpassed them.

In the great artists, Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, and Raphael, the Renaissance naturalism combined with religious emotion and reverence, to produce the highest art; and although the revival of classic learning and art doubtless influenced them, as is apparent at least when Michel-

(1) Stone, J.M., Renaissance and Reformation, page 118.

...and it is very easy to see that the new
...and the element of artificiality; not the re-
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...in the history of the art. As the history of the art
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...the other hand, artificiality also played a part in a
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...in writing; the humanists preferred the more refined
...Latin to the more flowing vulgar tongue.

During the revival of learning, in addition to those
...already mentioned, perhaps the outstanding phenomenon
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...artistic. In this age of specialization, the activities
...of Leonardo da Vinci as a mathematician, physicist, engineer,
...and even politician, seem almost incredible. His
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In the field of art, Leonardo da Vinci,
...and Michelangelo, the Renaissance sculpture combined the re-
...lighter freedom and reverence, to produce the ideal art
...and through the revival of classic learning and art, which
...was the Renaissance spirit, as in a general of least when Michel-
(1) See, for example, the Renaissance and the Renaissance, page 110.

angelo's Prophets in the Sistine Chapel are examined, they can by no means be accused of having degenerated into mere pagan sensuality, the greatest fault of less famous artists. Even during the Middle Ages, paganism had not entirely died out; it was retained surely by the people of southern Italy, where the Renaissance made its first appearance. (1) As art developed, love of beauty and the interests of actual life, were substituted more and more for the old principles of the Church, and naturalism soon was allied with the ever increasing paganism.

In literature, as in painting and sculpturing, the same tendencies held sway. Speaking of the paganism of the Renaissance, Kraus says, "Its pagan and materialistic side, not content with restoring antique knowledge and culture to modern humanity, eagerly laid hold on the whole intellectual life of a heathen time, together with its ethical perceptions, its principles based on sensual pleasure and the joy of living; these it sought to bring to life again. This impulse was felt at the very beginning of the fifteenth century; since the middle of the century it had ventured forth even more boldly in Florence, Naples, Rome in the days of Reggio, Valla, Beccadelli, and despite many a repulse had even gained access to the steps of the papal throne. A literature characterized by the Facetiae, by Lorenzo Valla's Voluptas and Beccadelli's Hermaphroditus could not but shock respectable feeling. Florence was the headquarters of this school, and Lorenzo il Magnifico its chief supporter." (2)

(1) Stone, J.M., Renaissance and Reformation, page 113.

(2) Kraus, F.X., Cambridge Modern History, Vol II, Chap. I, page 3.

V. Attitude of the Popes

The pagan spirit, dominant during the Renaissance, was fostered by the educated classes, and was openly tolerated by many of the Popes. It is not mere speculation to say that paganism, widely absorbed, closely connected the Renaissance and Reformation, not only in the corruption of Church officials, but also in the general disregard of the people for constituted authority, and even for the elementary principles of religion.

The attitude of the Papacy toward the revival of learning was on the whole very favorable. The Popes, like the despots, encouraged learning, patronized the arts, and had a passion for magnificence. On the whole, they were tolerant of all science; whatever may have been the attitude of the lower clergy or of the religious orders, it is certain that the Popes accepted the dicta of the contemporary scholars. An example of this is the acknowledgement of the forgery of the donation of Constantine, discovered by Lorenzo Valla. As a matter of fact, Valla, "who mocked the Papacy, ridiculed the monastic orders, and attacked the Bible and Christian Ethics, was given a prebend"; (1) It is equally significant to note that The Prince by Machiavelli, though subsequently severely prohibited, was published at first with Papal license. (2)

One of the earlier Popes, famous for his patronage of learning was Nicholas V, who when he sent a crusade against

(1) Smith, P., Age of Reformation, page 16.

(2) Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol XII, page 768.

the Turks, also sent agents to Constantinople to rescue, as far as possible, all manuscripts and treasures of art. Nicholas built up the Vatican library, adding Greek manuscripts especially. Being a lover of architecture and painting, Nicholas employed many of the famous architects of the day, including Bernado Rosellino, Leon Battista Alberti, Antonio di Franasco, Fra Angelico da Fiesole, and Benozzo Gozzoli. In moral character, this Pope was above reproach; as a temporal ruler, it was his policy to be pacific; he was a genius as an organizer, and he was exceedingly liberal to men of letters. (1)

Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, known as Pope Pius II, was one of the leaders of the Christian Renaissance. There were few men even in Italy, whose geographical and historical knowledge was so extensive. Aeneas was a patron of literature, and his own works are famous, among the most noted being his Universal History and Geography, and his Commentaries. It is interesting to note that in his historical works he did not deal with politics alone; he also described the geographical setting of events, and the manners, industries, products, institutions and customs of peoples. (2)

Entirely different from Pius II and Nicholas V in morals, but like them in the encouragement of art and learning, was Alexander VI, undoubtedly the most notorious Pope of the Renaissance. Alexander's crimes are so well known that they do not need repeating. To the modern mind, probably the only

(1) Stone, J.M., Renaissance and Reformation, page 122.

(2) Burckhardt, J., Renaissance in Italy, page 6.

the artist, also sent agents to Constantinople to receive
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 others of Florence, the Raphael of Rome, and Benvenuto Cellini.
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James Givins Pissolomatti, known as Pope Sixtus II, was
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 do not need repeating. To the modern mind, probably the only

(1) Stone, J. W., Renaissance and Reformation, page 128.
 (2) Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th edition, page 6.

remaining mystery concerning Alexander is how he remained on the Papal Chair as long as he did; strange as it may seem, he was neither intolerable nor more than usually unpopular. The reason probably is that he was a patron of art, and was a brilliant politician. "But now and then at least he made as if he would blazon on his banner the motto Italia fare da se; this brought him a popularity which nowadays it is hard to understand, and made it possible for him, the most unrighteous man in Italy, to gain the victory over the most righteous man of his time and to stifle Savonarola's reforming zeal among the ashes at the stake." (1) In his political work, Alexander was aided by his son, Cesare Borgia, who although utterly unscrupulous and heartless, was nevertheless a strong ruler. "while tyranny followed tyranny in petty states, Cesare Borgia had established in Romagna an ordered government, just and equal administration of laws; peace and security; laid out new streets and canals, other public works, aiding agriculture, manufacturing...." (2)

The pontificate of Alexander VI was typical of the pagan Renaissance, and was a contributing cause of the Reformation. There are so few favorable references made to Alexander that it might be interesting to quote one line: Columbus, in his will, May 4, 1506, "bequeathed to 'his beloved home, the Republic of Genoa, the prayer-book which Pope Alexander had

(1) Kraus, F.X., Cambridge Modern History, Vol II, chap. 1, p. 2

(2) Ibid, page 1.

given him, and which in prison, in conflict, and in every kind of adversity had been to him, the greatest of comforts.' It seems as if these words cast upon the abhorred name of Borgia one last gleam of grace and mercy." (1)

The successor, but one, of Alexander, Pope Julius II, had many of Borgia's characteristics. Julius was not primarily religious; he was decidedly interested in politics and art. He worked for the benefit of his family, and obtained for his kindred the inheritance of Urbino. (2) He also extended his efforts for the benefit of the See in territorial aggrandizement. "Whatever opinion may be formed of him, considered as the high-priest of the Christian faith, there can be no doubt that Julius II was one of the greatest figures of the Renaissance, and that his name, instead of Leo X, should by right be given to the golden age of letters and arts in Rome." (3) It was Julius II who obtained the masterpieces of Michelangelo and Raphael for the Church; he planned the Basilica of St. Peter's church. Although Pope Julius' political work was that of a secular prince, indirectly, by the patronage of the great artists he made contributions to Christianity. This would appear to be the opinion of Kraus at least, in speaking of the work of the great artists: "These compositions are the highest to which Christian art has attained, and the thoughts which they express are one of the greatest achievements of the Papacy.

(1) Burckhardt, J., Renaissance in Italy, Vol. II, page 3.

(2) Ranke, History of the Popes, Vol I, page 39.

(3) Symonds, J.A., Short History of the Renaissance, page 76.

which are, the whole is, in fact, the same, and in every

kind of activity and even to the greatest of activity.

It seems as if there were some kind of a secret code of

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The principle elsewhere laid down is here reaffirmed; that the reception of the true Renaissance into the circle of ecclesiastical thought points to a widening of the limited medieval conception into universality." (1) Although the great geniuses patronized by Julius II were to a degree touched by the paganism, and certainly by the naturalism, of the times, they were, broadly speaking, survivors of a less corrupt age. Michelangelo in his sonnets, laments the passing of the native Italian genius which had done great things before the pagan spirit had claimed it. Thus during the time of Julius II the Renaissance had reached the highest fulfillment, and he, a Pope had not discouraged, but had rather aided it.

The later Popes, with the possible exception of Leo X, were less famed for their learning than for their politics. Of Clement VII it is said, that on September 25, 1534, "Clement had died, nowhere regretted, unless in France. To him more than to any other man, is due the success of the Reformation, as a movement antagonistic to Rome. Intent upon dynastic and political interests, he had not only refused persistently to face the question of religion, but he had done as much as any to fetter the only force, except his own that could have attempted its solution." (2)

"Julius II fought and intrigued like a mere secular prince; Leo X, although certainly not an unbeliever, was frivolous in the extreme; Clement VII drew upon himself the contempt as well as the hatred of all who had dealings

(1) Kraus, F.X., Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, pages 6 and 7.

(2) Leathes, S., Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, page 69.

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with him, by his crooked ways and cowardly subterfuges, which led to the taking and pillage of Rome.

"Now it is not unfair to trace in these Popes, as in their advisors, a certain common type, the pattern of which was CesareBorgia, sometime Cardinal, but always in mind and action a Condottiere, while its philosopher was Machiavelli. We may express it in the words of Villani as a 'prodigious intellectual activity accompanied by moral decay'." (1)

The Renaissance Popes were a Typical part of the Renaissance, tolerant of difference of opinion as well as of vice, fond of art and learning to the exclusion of religion, and leaders in politics regardless of morals. A more favorable interpretation of these Popes, as aids of the Renaissance, regardless of reform in the Church, is given by Kraus: "private faults of the Renaissance Popes were fatal for the moral life of the Church, but the question of what the Papacy was and meant for these times, is not summed up or determined by them. It is the right of these Popes to be judged by the better and happier side of their government; the historian who portrays them should not be less skilful than the great masters of the Renaissance, who in their portraits of the celebrities of their times contrived to bring out the sitter's best and most characteristic qualities. Luther was not touched in the least degree by the artistic development of his time; brought up amid the peasant life of Saxony and Thuringia he had no conception of the whole world that lay between Dante and Michelangelo,

(1) Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol 12, page 766.

with him by his friends and admirers.

which led to the ending of his life.

Now it is not only in these times, as in
other times, a certain common type, the nature of which
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as my exposure it is the world of Villani as a 'philosopher'

intellectual activity accompanied by moral decay." (1)

The Renaissance period was a typical part of the Ren-

aissance, and was of different opinion as well as of

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Kraus: "The Renaissance of the Renaissance period was late-

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then the great masters of the Renaissance, who in the

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bring out the Renaissance's best and most characteristic quali-

ties. Such was not founded in the Renaissance by the

artistic development of his time brought up with the

present state of Germany and Switzerland as has no other

of the world that lay between France and Switzerland.

(1) Voltaire, Novelle, Vol. 12, page 100.

and could not see that the eminence of the Papacy consisted at that time in its leadership of Europe in the province of art. But to deny this now would be injustice to the past!"(1)

VI. Savonarola, Prophet of the Renaissance.

If in the revival of learning, Machiavelli was the philosopher, Savonarola was the prophet. Machiavelli described the political situation in Italy and the aims of the princes, secular and clerical; he was dissatisfied with Italy because it lacked the imperial grandeur of the pagan past. Savonarola, on the other hand, fiercely assailed the corruption of his native land; he told of certain desolation to come because of the crimes of the present, which had increased in number and horror partly as the result of the resurrection of the vices of antiquity.

Savonarola, even as a young man, seemed to dislike the life at court, for he was deeply religious, and was disgusted and disheartened by the frivolous life led by most of the people of Ferrara. He was an earnest student, and his favorite authors were Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas.

On April 24, 1475, Savonarola entered the Dominican order at Bologna. The step thus taken was not a hasty one, although Savonarola had not communicated his intentions to anyone; his reasons for entering the monastery were clearly stated in his letter to his father, written after he had secretly left home. "The motives by which I have been led

(1) Kraus, F.X., Cambridge Modern History, Vol II, page 7.

to enter into a religious life are these: the great misery of the world; the iniquities of men, their rapes, adulteries, robberies, their pride, idolatry, and fearful blasphemies, so that things have come to such a pass that no one can be found acting righteously. Many times a day I have repeated with tears the verse:

Heu fuge crudeles terras, fuge littus avarum!

I could not endure the enormous wickedness of the blinded people of Italy; and the more so because I saw everywhere virtue despised and vice honored."(1) Surely at the beginning of his career at least, there was nothing of the politician in Savonarola; but the moral reformer is undoubtedly present.

After a novitiate marked by austerity and humility, Savonarola was sent first to his home, Ferrara, as a preacher; here his preaching met but a cool reception, and upon the outbreak of hostilities between Ferrara and Venice, he was recalled to Bologna. At length he was appointed to go to St. Mark's in Florence. At first Savonarola was delighted with his new station, and especially with the cloister which was remarkably beautiful, being decorated with the paintings of Fra Angelico. Soon his attitude changed, for the citizens, though smooth and cultured, were lacking in religion and morality, and even in the streets the indecent "canti carnoscialeschi" of Lorenzo de Medici were commonly sung. In 1483 Savonarola preached the Lenten sermons in the Church of St. Lorenzo, but his plain earnest sermons

(1) Symonds, J.A., Short History of the Renaissance, page 88.

to enter into a religious life and there; the great misery
of the world; the indignities of men, their poverty, their
law, robbery, their vices, their passions, and finally their
destruction, so that perhaps now come to mind a page that no
one can be taught nothing philosophically, they learn a day,
now presented with some new version:

The long circular tower, huge like a mountain.

I could not endure the enormous richness of the blind
people of Italy; and the more so because I saw everywhere
virtues despised and vices honored. (1) "First of all, the
king of his court at least, there was nothing of the nob-
lesman in Savonarola; but his moral reformer he understood
only himself."

After a novitiate marked by poverty and humility,

Savonarola was sent first to his home, Ferrara, as a priest-
and here his preaching was not a cool reception, and soon
the outbreak of hostilities between Ferrara and Venice, he
was recalled to Bologna. At length he was recalled to no
to St. Mark's in Florence. At first Savonarola was delight-
ed with his new station, and especially with the isolation
which was temporarily beautiful, being decorated with the
palace of the English. Soon his attitude changed, for
the climate, though smooth and mild, was lacking in
refinement and dignity, and even in the respect the Italian
"great aristocracy" of Bologna as Italian were somewhat
cold. In 1498 Savonarola preached the famous sermon in
the church of St. Lorenzo, but his light earnest sermons
(1) Savonarola, I. I., Short History of the Renaissance, page 10.

attracted few of the people; they much preferred the ornamented discourses of Fra Mariano da Gerraizzano.

In San Gemignano, Savonarola also achieved but slight success as a speaker. It was at Brescia that he first became famous, for it was there that he began the series of awful prophecies that terrified yet fascinated Italy. In Brescia his warnings of invasion, of blood flowing in the streets, and of untold calamities, were not forgotten when twenty-six years later the soldiers of Gaston de Foix slaughtered six thousand of the citizens in the streets.(1) Savonarola went next to Reggio, where he stayed until the death of his friend, Pico della Mirandola, in 1494, then to Genoa, from which city he was recalled to Florence in 1490, through the agency of Lorenzo de Medici. Lorenzo desired his presence at Florence, not to restore the decadent morals of the people or to bring a great religious revival, but more because he was a curiosity and interesting to the scholars of Florence. From the beginning, Savonarola was independent of the ruling house; on being recalled to Florence he did not make the customary visit to Lorenzo. He was indebted to the Church for his position, and not to any secular prince. In spite of Lorenzo's friendliness, constant attendance at his sermons, and liberal contributions of money, Savonarola still saw in the prince the oppressor of liberty, the corruptor of the people, and the opponent of true religion.(2) It is said that when Lorenzo was dying he called

(1) Symonds, Short History of the Renaissance, page 86.

(2) Ibid, page 96.

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Savonarola, who after the confession required that: 1. Lorenzo rely upon God's mercy, 2. restore all goods he had unjustly attained, 3. give back liberty to Florence. Lorenzo would agree to the first two requests, but not to the third, hence Savonarola refused him absolution. (1)

The details of Lorenzo's death scene are not equally accepted by all historians. Armstrong says, "they rest on third hand authority, contain inherent improbabilities, and are contradicted by contemporary evidence both direct and indirect." (2) The story, authentic or not, illustrates Savonarola's defiance of temporal authority and his insistence on justice.

Shortly after his return to Florence, Savonarola, in 1491, gave a series of sermons, which centered around three propositions: 1. that the Church would be renewed in his time, 2. that before the renovation God would strike Italy with a fearful chastisement, and 3. that these things would happen shortly. Savonarola's oratory was effective. He described in detail every vice of the people, and laid bare all abuses; he stressed particularly the coming woes, bloodshed, ruin of cities, armies and wars. In one sermon he is quoted as saying, "Repent! a judgment of God is at hand; a sword is suspended over you. Italy is doomed for her iniquity---for the sins of the Church whose adulteries have filled the world---for the sins of tyrants who encourage crime and trample on souls---for the sins of you people, you fathers and mothers, you young men, you maidens, you

(1) Symonds, J.A., Short History of the Renaissance, page 96.

(2) Armstrong, E., Cambridge Modern History, Vol I, page 144

children that lisp blasphemy! (1) Undoubtedly, much of Savonarola's fascination was due to his force as a speaker; but the chief source of his influence was the realization of the grave danger of an attack by a foreign power upon the defenceless cities of Italy. When Savonarola's predictions concerning an invasion were fulfilled in 1494, his prestige was enormous. The Medici were driven out of Florence; a new constitution based on that of Venice, was adopted; and Savonarola stepped from the pulpit to the rostrum.

"Had Girolanio Savonarola died before the French invasion of 1494, he would scarcely have been distinguished above other missionary friars, who throughout the fifteenth century strove faithfully to revive the flagging religion of Italy. The French King and the Italian Dominican were poles asunder in character and aims, yet their fortunes were curiously linked. On Charles VIII's first success, Savonarola became a personage of history, and his own fate was sealed by the Frenchman's death." (2) While Charles was in Italy, the Medici could not be restored, and whatever Savonarola's political work might be, he would not meet interference from the Pope, whose temporal power was endangered by Charles.

Savonarola was not at heart a politician; he was a reformer. He wished to restore the religious orders to their earlier simplicity of life, and the people he would turn to the early Christian model. He saw, however, that the moral

(1) Symonds, J.A., Short History of the Renaissance, page 95.

(2) Armstrong, E., Cambridge Modern History, Vol. I, page 144.

structure must have a solid political foundation upon which to build. This had been impossible under the Medici, and now when a new constitution was needed Savonarola turned the people toward the Venetian model. Savonarola, although he did not actually propose the constitution, unquestionably created a strong public opinion in its favor. The people, bowing to the great prophet, after driving out the Medici, gave up their recently regained liberties, and under the new constitution, subjected themselves to the middle class. (1)

Savonarola now directing the politics of the city, as well as the morals, impressed upon the voters the responsibilities attached to their privilege. He said that an elector must constantly have in mind the glory of God, the welfare of the community, and the honor of the state. Men should not be elected to office by way of charity; wise men alone should be selected. He sought to impress his principles on his followers and citizens of Florence by holding the ceremony known as the "Burning of Vanities" in 1497, when a bonfire was made in the public market place of all material aids and expressions of frivolity; cards, false hair, masks, and other articles pertaining to carnival festivities, indecent books and pictures, and the like. For this procedure Savonarola has often been condemned as a Puritan.

While Charles VIII was in Italy, Savonarola was unmolested. His severe criticism of the Pope and the clergy did not go unheeded however, and in 1498, when the French danger was passed,

(1) Armstrong, E. Cambridge Modern History, Vol I, page 160.

... have a solid political foundation and within
to this. This has been especially evident in the
and a new constitution was passed. Savanah's future the pro-
the country (the Veritas case). Savanah, although in the
not entirely free of the situation, undoubtedly needed
a strong political action in the future. The people, looking to
the future, after making all the mistakes, have to their
respectively remained liberal, and under the new constitution,
suggested themselves to the public mind. (1)

Savanah's new situation the politics of the city, as
well as the people, increased upon the voters the personal-
difficult attached to their privilege. He said that an elec-
tion must consequently have in mind the spirit of the law, the
law of the country, and the honor of the state. The state
not be placed in a position of weakness; and the state
should be respected. He sought to improve his position on
his followers and citizens of the state by holding the state
very known as the "Morning of Veritas" in 1907, when a new

fire was made in the public mind of all material
and the atmosphere of the city; and, like the state,
and other parties, especially to political activities, in-
herent books and pictures, and the like. For this purpose
Savanah has often been considered as a failure.

While Savanah was in the city, Savanah was considered
the severe criticism of the city and the city did not know
itself, however, and in 1909, when the French danger was passing,

Savonarola was called to Rome; he refused to go. He was then forbidden to preach; he disobeyed. He attacked the Pope personally as a sinful man; and called for a general council to decide his case. (1) After an ordeal by fire had been attempted and abandoned, on the wrack Savonarola confessed that he was not a prophet and was subsequently condemned to death. It seems apparent that Alexander VI was influenced in this case by jealous enemies of Savonarola, and by personal insults, rather than by the facts in the case. Savonarola himself lost confidence in the Pope as shown in his letter: "I can thus have no longer any hope in your Holiness, but must turn to Christ alone, who chooses the weak of this world to confound the strong lions among the perverse generations. He will assist me to prove and sustain, in the face of the world, the holiness of the work for which I so greatly suffer; and He will inflict a just punishment on those who persecute me and would impede its progress. As for myself, I seek no earthly glory, but long eagerly for death. May your Holiness no longer delay, but look to your salvation." (2)

Savonarola's letters of justification to the Pope were not heeded. With two companions he died in May, 1498. The question often arises as to whether Savonarola was a precursor of Luther or of any of the other Reformers, and to what extent he was a man of the Renaissance. Savonarola has often been criticised as an enemy of the Renaissance and of true learning. "On the strength of his protest against

(1) Smith, P., Age of Reformation, page 18.

(2) Symonds, J.A., Short History of the Renaissance, page 101.

the unseemly and degrading literature which abounded in his time, Savonarola was condemned as a Puritan." (1) Yet Savonarola, because he was a reformer, has been probably somewhat unjustly treated. He was learned, and he bore no dislike for true learning. Even in the "Burning of Vanities" there was no great loss to art or literature. "...the artistic value of the objects consumed has been greatly exaggerated by some writies. There is no proof that any book or painting of real merit was sacrificed, and Savonarola was neither foe to art nor learning. On the contrary, so great was his respect for both that, when there was a question of selling the Medici library to pay that family's debts, he saved the collection at the expense of the convent purse." (2)

Savonarola was learned; not only in the studies of scholasticism, but in the humanities as well. In order to silence critics and to better explain his doctrines, at one time, he published a collections of his writings; in them he proved his knowledge of the ancient philosophy, which he so fiercely condemned for its errors, and displayed his understanding of the Church fathers.

By some Savonarola is considered to be one of the leaders of the Christian Renaissance. "Savonarola,...Erasmus,...and Sir Thomas More....may be taken as figures in what has sometimes been called the Christian Renaissance. They represent beyond question the mind of the Church

(1) Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol XII, page 767.

(2) Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol XXIV, page 251.

concerning those ancient authors, not sacrificing faith to scholarship, or Holy Writ to Homer and Horace, while they allow culture its province and its privileges." (1) This in spite of the fact that he was excommunicated by Alexander VI.

Although Savonarola was well acquainted with humanism, and was thoroughly appreciative of true learning, in his methods of thought, Savonarola always remained a scholastic. His sermons form one long argument, and his actions were all based on reason. "Occasionally in his later sermons, he would inveigh against the futility of human knowledge; he would cry that a little old woman who held the faith knew more than did Aristotle and Plato. Nevertheless he was convinced of the merits of education, of the power of human reasoning. Reason justified his flying from home; reason supported his attack on astrology; his own prophecies found their proof in reason." (2)

Savonarola was then one of the learned men of the Christian Renaissance; his connection with the Reformation is less certain. Armstrong says that the spirit of prophesy embodied in his sermons linked him closely to the Fraticelli, and to the extravagances of Rienzi, and that he was a precursor of the Anabaptists rather than of Luther. (3) On the other hand, it seems more reasonable to state with Stone, that he met his tragic end because he overstepped the limits

(1) Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol XII, page 76.

(2) Armstrong, E., Cambridge Modern History, Vol I, page 144.

(3) Ibid, page 151.

consequently those without, not recognizing their
to themselves, or holy life to honor and respect, while
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and to the extravagance of Ronsard, and that he was a high-

cursor of the Catholicism which Jean de La Rochefoucauld

other hand, it seems more reasonable to state with Ronsard,

that he was his tragic and heroic he overcame the limits

(1) Savonarola's Works, Vol. III, page 70.
(2) Savonarola's Works, Vol. I, page 100.
(3) This page 101.

of obedience in descending from the pulpit to the rostrum, thereby becoming a political leader. His sermons and his meditations do not number him among the prophets of a Protestant dispensation.(1)

Savonarola wanted reform in morals both within the Church and in the lay society. He brought forth no new and striking doctrines; his prophecies are of a political and moral rather than of a religious nature. Even in his disobedience to Papal command, Savonarola did not intend to defy the Papacy as such, or to deny the authority of the Church; he was the victim of personal injustice, and against personal injustice he rebelled. No statement on this question, however, should be accepted unreservedly; the matter is still in dispute. Many writers, as J.A.Symonds and John Lord, do say that Savonarola was no precursor of Luther, but their lines of reasoning reaching this conclusion differ.

Upon Savonarola's influence on Florence and on Italy, there is likewise no general agreement. Smith says, "All effects of Savonarola's career, political, moral and religious, shortly disappeared." (2) On the other hand, Symonds says that his policies were long remembered and carried out, as in the seige of 1529, and his name was the Florentine watchword for liberty. (3) Other writers say that his government was based only on momentary enthusiasm, and could

(1) Stone J.M., Renaissance and Reformation, page 60.

(2) Smith, P., Age of Reformation, page 18.

(3) Symonds, J.A., Short History of the Renaissance, page 103.

not last; his moral reform was not based upon firm ground. On the whole it would seem that there were no permanent gains derived from Savonarola's work; on the other hand his example, in an idealistic way may have influenced the Italian people, and thus have had some lasting effect in history.

VII. Revival of Learning North of the Alps

The revival of learning was not confined to Italy, the first home of the Renaissance, but through the agency of military invasions, those of Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I, it was carried across the Alps. In the northern countries the culture was still of the medieval type until humanism brought in a new type of literature and a new kind of art. Yet humanism in northern Europe did not take the same form that it had taken in Italy. In general it may be stated that beyond the Alps the Renaissance became more scholarly but less appreciative of sheer beauty. More emphasis began to be placed upon science, and the scientific study of the classics, and it was philosophy and theology that these later humanists were interested in rather than in art. In Italy the ancient works of art and literature were studied in order that their beauty might be appreciated. In the North, Greek philosophy was studied for the refutation of the scholastic system of thought, and ancient writings were sought to correct inaccuracies in medieval writings.

The Renaissance did not, generally speaking reach England until late in the fifteenth century. Chaucer had been

and that his work after was not based upon this ground.
On the whole it would seem that there was no permanent
gain derived from the investigation of the other hand
his example. In an idealistic way he had influenced the
action of the people, and that was not a small thing in
history.

VII. Revival of Learning North of the Alps

The revival of learning was not confined to Italy, the
first signs of the Renaissance, and through the agency of
literary invasion, traces of Greek and Latin literature, and
the new movement spread north of the Alps. In the northern
countries the influence was still of the medieval type until
humanism brought in a new type of literature and a new
kind of art. The movement in northern Europe did not take
the same form as it had taken in Italy. It differed in
that the first step beyond the Renaissance was
more completely and more representative of humanism. The
movement began to be placed upon a solid basis, and the scientific
study of the history, and it was philosophy and theology
that these latter movements were interested in rather than
in art. It is the history of the Renaissance of art and literature
were related in order that their study might be appreciated.
In the North, Greek culture was adopted for the restoration
of the classical spirit of thought, and the study of the
ancient world was carried on in a more systematic way.
The Renaissance did not, however, generally speaking, reach the
level which it had in the Italian peninsula. It was not as deep

in Italy, and had written his Canterbury Tales, but he did not introduce the Renaissance into Britain. During the time of Henry VII there was, however, more frequent intercourse with Italy than before. English scholars, as Grocyn, went to Italy, and Italians came to England. Erasmus came from the continent, and visited the court of Henry VII, there meeting the future incumbent of the throne, Henry VIII. In the field of literature, the one notable work during Henry VII's reign, was Sir Thomas Malory's Mort d'Arthur. In this period, in 1476, William Caxton first introduced the art of printing into England. (1)

The outstanding men of the English Renaissance, were without doubt, John Colet (1467 - 1519) and Sir Thomas More (1578 - 1535). John Colet, the founder of St. Paul's School in London, was the man in whom the humanism of England assumed its essential character. (2) He was the leader of the Oxford scholars at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Through his teaching of Greek and his interpretation of the Scriptures he exerted a widespread influence.

Sir Thomas More was the leading figure of the English revival of learning, and his name is inseparably bound with that of the greatest scholar of the continent, Erasmus, with whom he contracted a very close friendship. More in his youth was a distinguished student, and had been intensely interested in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. At Oxford he attended the lectures of Grocyn one of the early English humanists who had

(1) Cross, A.T., Shorter History of England and Greater Britain, page 192.

(2) Hulme, E.M. Renaissance and Reformation, page 204.

is that, and has written his interesting notes, but the
and later as the knowledge was too slight. During the
time of Henry VII's reign was, however, some important inter-
course with Italy from which English students returned.
went to Italy, and left on 10th February, 1494, and
from the continent, and visited the court of Henry VII.
After meeting the Italian ambassador of the Emperor, Henry VII.
in the field of battle, the one notable work during
Henry VII's reign, was his Thomas More's Utopia.
in this period, in 1496, William de Wyndesore finished
the art of painting into wood, and
The Utopia was one of the Italian Renaissance, and
without doubt, and dated 1497 - 1498, and the Thomas More
1497 - 1498, and the Italian Renaissance of the Italian
in fact, and was in fact the nucleus of English re-
form, the English Renaissance. It is the result of the
Italian Renaissance in the beginning of the sixteenth century.
through his teaching of Greek and the introduction of the
Greek text he secured a widespread influence.
His Thomas More was the leading figure of the English
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in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. At Oxford he attended the lec-
tures of Thomas and of the early English humanists who had
the Greek text of the Utopia of Thomas More and Erasmus
in Latin, page 100.
The Utopia of Thomas More and Erasmus, page 100.

been trained in Italy. More's "book Utopia bears witness that he had adopted many of the views of Marsilius of Padua and other liberal jurists of the later Middle Ages....When he became Lord Chancellor he was noted for the lenient way in which he dealt with heresy; but he remained attached to the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, and abandoned some of his earlier opinions in favor of stricter views about the divine origin of the supremacy of the Pope." (1) More's Utopia is still very interesting and valuable reading, because the subjects it deals with, such as prosecution of crime, are still problems to modern governments, but as Lindsay says, More changed his views, or else was not entirely sincere in many of the solutions offered in Utopia. The religion of the Utopians was apparently a state religion of deist nature. More later gave up his life rather than accept a state Church in England in the stead of the Roman Church. As regards toleration, however, More seems to have endeavored to live up to the ideals expressed in Utopia. When he was Lord Chancellor he did not approve of Wolsey's policy of confiscation, but believed with liberality that press should reply to press. (2) Again parts of Utopia which may seem to be very liberal, do not agree with More's ideas as expressed in The Supplication of the Souls in Purgatory, where he objects to the suppression of endowments. He has the souls in Purgatory say: "suppress the pious stipends paid to the monks, and then Luther's Gospel will come in,

(1) Lindsay, T.M., *The Reformation*, page 139.

(2) d'Aubigne, M., *History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century*, Vol.V, page 272.

Tyndale's Testament will be read, heresy will preach, fasts will be neglected, the saints will be blasphemed, God will be offended, virtue will be mocked of, vice will run riot, and England will be peopled with beggars and thieves."(1)

More's writings in the vernacular were brilliant and full of understanding; his Latin writings, though written with force, do not show the elegance of many of the other humanists. On the whole, it may be stated that while More is the most famous leader of the Renaissance in England, he is far outstripped by a number of the continental scholars.

In France humanism from the beginning was allied with theology. One of the first of the famous men of letters Jacques Lefèvre (1455 - 1536), whose doctrine, especially that of "justification by faith" made clear in his Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, materially aided in the development of Luther's theology. Bude, often known as Budaeus, was an exact contemporary with Erasmus, but although he probably surpassed Erasmus in his technical knowledge of Greek and Latin, he did not have an influence upon the world in any way to compare with the great scholar of the Netherlands. The other French humanists, although far too numerous to name, contributed to the advancement of knowledge to such an extent that the center of learning at the beginning of the sixteenth century had already begun to shift from Italy to France.

The greatest figure of the French Renaissance, however,

(1) d'Aubigne, M., History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century, Vol. V, page 272.

was Rabelais (1495 - 1555), of whom it has often been said that he was at once the glory and the shame of the Christian priesthood. Rabelais' works seem coarse and vulgar although humorous, but beneath the surface are sound moral teaching. Rabelais was a priest and a physician; having tired of clerical work, he was allowed by the Pope to practice medicine, and it was to please the sick, among whom he labored, that he wrote his most famous novels, Pantagruel and Gargantua. It was Rabelais' belief that it was better to write of laughter than of tears, since to laugh was the nature of man. On the whole Rabelais was moral rather than religious; he treated the Christian religion as a creed outworn, and fell back upon a liberal Platonism. (1) His moral ideas, most interesting of which are his teachings on education and war, were disguised under the jargon of giants, partly because that was a clever way of amusing as well as moralizing, especially for invalids, and also probably partly because if his ideas were stated bluntly they would surely displease the vigorous French monarchy. Rabelais, although a humanist, was not an ardent synpathizer of the Reformers, nor was he a staunch upholder of Catholicism; he was a philosopher of the Renaissance. It seems almost incredible that Rabelais and Calvin were alike the product of the same country and the same age; nevertheless there is a common basis for both; these men were individualistic; their genius, which was of different natures, cultivated in the Renaissance assertion of freedom of the individual, resulted in Calvin's Institute of the

(1) Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. XII, page 767.

Christian Religion, and Rabelais' Pantagruel, whose common feature was reaction against the practices of the past.(1)

In Germany the Renaissance came late, and centered to a large extent around theology. The more learned of the wandering scholars were interested in religion, the less learned were poets of a strikingly pagan nature. The universities were on the whole, the centers of the old scholasticism, and theology was the most important study. Among the most noted humanists were Jacob Wimpheling, who was interested in the education of the young, and Sebastian Brant who wrote the cutting satire The Ship of Fools. Ulrich von Hutton, a poet and lover of literature, is perhaps more famous as a militant ally of Luther, and as a Reformer, than as a humanist. The chief German leader in the field of letters, however, was Reuchlin, whose attempt to introduce Hebrew into Germany resulted in violent opposition. Inseparably connected with Reuchlin's name, although he himself did not write them, were the Letters of Obscure Men. The letters signed with fictitious names, ridiculed scholasticism and the clergy, and did much, it will be seen, to prepare public opinion for the coming Reformation. The principle authors were probably Crotus, Rubianus and Ulrich von Hutten, although numerous other German humanists may have aided by direct contribution or suggestion. (2) Among the later of the German humanists who were intimately connected with the Reformation,

(1) Stone, J.M., Renaissance and Reformation, page 304.

(2) Hulme, E.M., Renaissance and Reformation, page 217.

in addition to von Hutten, was Melancthon, an earnest student of Greek, who presented the Lutheran Confession at the Diet of Augsburg.

VIII. Erasmus

The greatest scholar of the Renaissance, without question, was Erasmus, and his attitude toward the question of the reformation of the Church, to a great extent, explains the relation between the Renaissance and the Reformation.

The events of Erasmus' early life, his unwilling entrance into a monastic order, and his influence upon the scholars of England and the continent of Europe are too well known to be discussed in detail here. His influence in literature as a cause of the Reformation, and his attitude toward Luther, are however, of prime importance.

Erasmus was learned, and his influence was widely felt; he traveled extensively in England, France and Germany, and everywhere spoke Latin, the language of the humanists. In his works, Erasmus distinguished between pagan and Christian, between pedantry and true learning. "Erasmus laughed to scorn the Ciceronian pedantries of Bembo and Sadoletto; he quotes with disgust the paganizing terms in which some Roman preachers travestied the persons and scenes of the Gospel. He had a Zeal for the inspired word, and his Greek and Latin testament was the chief literary event of the year that saw its publication".(1) "His Praise of Folly and other satirical writings were an attack not upon medieval genius, but upon

(1) Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 12, page 767.

the self-confident ignorance which declaimed against good literature without knowing what it meant. The scholarship of Erasmus....was also honestly Christian; to make Holy Scripture known and understood was the supreme purpose he kept in view... In him the Renaissance had cast away its paganism." (1)

Erasmus firmly believed in the power of education and of good literature. In writing to John Schudelin, from Anderlac, he said: "Teach your boys carefully, edit the writings of the Fathers, and irreligious religion and unlearned learning will pass away in due time." (2)

Erasmus all through his life fought for sound learning and common sense against ignorance and violence. Erasmus was always moderate, and he was interested primarily in education rather than in theology. It is his striving for the reform of the world through the sweetness and moderation of valuable studies that caused his attitude toward the Lutheran movement, which he himself had aided directly or indirectly. His works show his relation to the Reformation.

It has often been said that Erasmus directly aided Luther; and this is true to a great extent. In his Praise of Folly, Erasmus deftly satirizes various forms of human folly, not neglecting that of the clergy and the scholastic philosophers. It is obvious that in the Praise of Folly there is no attack on doctrine, but the criticism of the religious and of the all too frequent abuses in the Church, did much to alienate the uncritical mind, not only from the clergy as

(1) Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol 12, page 767.

(2) Froude, J.A., Life and Letters of Erasmus, page 290.

men, but also, contrary to the intentions of Erasmus, from the central doctrines of the Church. "There was no denying that his writings generally, especially his New Testament had given the first impulse. It was he who had made the Scripture, to which Luther appealed, first accessible to the laity, garnished with notes and commentaries as stinging as Luther's own." (1) It is not to be understood by this that Erasmus's New Testament was the first in the vernacular, but rather that it was his own learning, and his scholarly commentaries, that made his work so famous.

Erasmus himself, although not agreeing later with Luther's methods, admitted his connection with the Reformation. In his letter to Adrian VI, dated "Bale, February 1523." he wrote: "At Rome and in Brabant I am called heretic, heresiarch, schismatic. I entirely disagree with Luther. They quote this and that to show we are alike. I could find a hundred passages where St. Paul seems to teach the doctrines which they condemn in Luther. I did not anticipate what a time was coming. I did, I admit, help to bring it on, but I was always willing to submit what I wrote to the Church. I asked my friends to point out anything which they thought wrong. They found nothing. They encouraged me to persevere; and now they find a scorpion under every stone, and would drive me to rebellion as they drove Arius and Tertullian." (2)

(1) Froude, J.A., *Life and Letters of Erasmus*, page 286.

(2) *Ibid*, page 310.

...and, but also, contrary to the liberalism of the time, from
the general doctrine of the Union. There was no denying
that his religious generally, especially his religious
and given the time. It was the time of the
reformation, so which I have suggested, that association is
and faith, combined with other and considered as things
the as I have said. It is not to be understood by
this that I have a new doctrine was the time of the re-
formation, but rather that it was his own feeling, and his
religious, and with his work as I have.
I have said, although not a religious factor with
I have said, advised the connection with the refor-
mation. In his letter to John VI, dated "1523, re-
my 1523," he wrote: "I have said to Richard I suggested
reformation, and I have said. I have said I have said
I have said. They have said and that to know we are alike.
I have said a hundred passages where I have said to know
the doctrine which they condemn in I have said. I did not
I have said a time was coming. I did, I did, help to
bring it on, but I was always willing to admit what I
wrote to the Union. I have said my friends to point out
anything which they thought wrong. They found nothing.
They encouraged me to persevere; and now they find a
reformation under every stone, and would drive me to rebellion
as they drive mine and rebellion." (2)

Erasmus worked for the abolition of abuses; he did not care to interfere with doctrine. Learning was his field, and in dogma he was not interested any more than to say that what the Church had taught must be accepted. His views on religion are expressed clearly in his letters. To the Emperor Charles V, he wrote: "Church authority however, may be preserved with a few alterations. I would give the cup to the laity. I would not have priests marry or monks abandon their vows without their bishop's consent. Boys and girls, however, who have been tempted into religious houses ought to be set free, as having been taken in by fraud. It would be well if priests and monks could be chaste; but the age is corrupt, and of two evils we must choose the least. The license of which you complain has found no encouragement from me; I have checked it always when I could. You are afraid of paganism; my fear is of Judaism, which I see everywhere." (1) Again, to the Elector Herman, Archbishop of Cologne, who afterwards joined the Lutherans, Erasmus wrote in a letter dated March 18, 1528: "The Mass has been made a trade for illiterate and sordid priests, and a contrivance to quiet the consciences of reprobates. So the cry is raised, 'Abolish the Mass, put it away, make an end of it,' Is there no middle course? Cannot the Mass be purified? Saint-worship has been carried so far that Christ has been forgotten. Therefore respect for the saints is idolatry, and orders founded in their names must be dissolved.

(1) Froude, J.A., Life and Letters of Erasmus, page 340.

Why so violent a remedy? Too much has been made of rituals and vestments, but we might save, if we would, the useful part of such things. Confession has been abused, but it could be regulated more strictly. We might have fewer priests and fewer monks, and those we keep might be better of their kind. If the bishops will only be moderate, things may end well after all. But we must not hurt the corn in clearing out the tares. We must forget ourselves, and think first of Christ's glory, cease our recriminations, and regard all these calamities as a call to each of us to amend his own life." (1)

Erasmus, in his letter to N----, dated Louvain, January 28, 1521, defined his position as to dogma and to learning, when he said: "Who am I that I should contradict the Catholic Church? If I was sure that the Holy See was wrong I would say so on a proper occasion, but it is no duty of mine to decide. My work has been to restore a buried literature, and recall divines from their hairsplittings to a knowledge of the New Testament. I have never been a dogmatist. I think the Church has defined many points which might have been left open without hurt to the faith. The matter now in hand can be arranged if the Pope, the princes and your Highness will refer it to a small number of good men." (2) In his statements of doctrine, Erasmus is often accused by Lutherans of being Catholic, by Catholics of being Lutheran. For example, in the letter quoted above,

(1) Froude, J.A., *Life and Letters of Erasmus*, page 349.

(2) *Ibid*, page 279.

any so violent a remedy. Too much has been said of this
and yesterday, but we might have, if we could, the need
of this thing. Doubtless has been shown, but it
could be remedied more easily. We might have fewer
priests and fewer monks, and those we keep might be better
of their kind. In the distance still only we suppose, things
may not well after all. But we must not wait the time in
stealing out the labor. We must forget ourselves, and think
first of Christ's duty, above our weaknesses, and re-
gard all these Catholics as a well to each of us to amend
his own life." (1)

Protestant, in his letter to W. --, dated November, 1857,
very 23, 1857, defined his position as to Rome and to
Rome, when he said: "Who am I that I should con-
sider the Catholic Church? If I see that the Holy See
was strong I could say so as a proper occasion, but it is no
body of mine to decide. My work has been to restore a man-
ied literature, and recall divines from their misapprehen-
sions to a knowledge of the New Testament. I have never been a
dogmatist. I think the Church has defined many points which
might have been left open without hurt to the faith. The
matter now in hand can be settled if the Pope, the prince
and your alms are left to a small number of good
men." (2) In his statement of doctrine, written in 1858,
and in his statement of being Catholic, by definition of
the Catholic, too, written in the latter dated above,
(1) Friends, 1. 1. Life and Letters of W. G. Sumner, page 325.
(2) 1858, page 470.

Erasmus goes on to say: "I know not how Popes came to their authority. I suppose it was as the bishops came by theirs. Each Presbytery chose one of its members as president to prevent divisions. Bishops similarly found it expedient to have a chief bishop, to check rivalries and defend the Church against the secular powers." (1)

However much Erasmus sympathized with Luther at first in the demand for the reform of abuses, he turned against the German leader when Luther showed himself revolutionary as to doctrines and intolerant of slow and moderate means. In his letter to Jadocus Jonas, dated Louvain, May 18, 1521, Erasmus criticizes Luther's methods, and displays his resentment at his own being brought into the controversy: "In pleading for moderation at Worms you acted as I should have done had I been there. I am sorry that things have turned so badly. What is religion save peace in the Holy Ghost? The corruption of the Church, the degeneracy of the Holy See are universally admitted. Reform has been loudly asked for, and I doubt whether in the whole history of Christianity the heads of the Church have been so grossly worldly as at the present moment. It was on this account that Luther's popularity at the outset was so extraordinary. We believe what we wish. A man was supposed to have risen up with no objects of his own to gain, to set his hand to the work. I had hopes myself, though from the first I was alarmed at Luther's tone. What could have induced him to rail as he did at popes and doctors and mendicant

(1) Froude, J.A., *Life and Letters of Erasmus*, page 279.

friars? If all he said was true what could he expect? Things were bad enough in themselves without making them worse. Did he wish to set the world on fire? This is not Christ's way, or the Apostles' way, or Augustine's. He should have looked forward. It is foolish to undertake what you cannot carry through, doubly foolish when failure may be disastrous. Why did he refuse to submit to the Pope and the Emperor? He was ill advised they say. But why did he let himself be ill advised? He had many friends well disposed towards him, partly because they thought he was doing good, partly because they had a common enemy. It was unfair to drag our names into the controversy. Why have I and Reuchlin been mentioned so often? They have taken passages which I wrote before Luther's movement was dreamt of, and have translated them into German, where I seem to say what Luther says. Likely enough I have insisted that vows should not be hastily taken, that men had better stay at home and take care of their families, instead of running off to Compostella or Jerusalem. But this is not to say there should be no vows and no confessional. It is not my fault if my writings were misused. So were Paul's if we are to believe Peter. Had I known what was coming I might have written differently on some points. But I have done my best, and at all events have not encouraged rebellion. There was a hope at Cologne that the Pope would graciously forgive and Luther would graciously obey, the princes generally approving. But out comes the 'Babylonish Captivity'

and the burning of the Decretals, and the wound becomes past cure. Luther has willingly provoked his fate."(1)

Erasmus realized that had he joined Luther, he would have greatly aided the Reformation. To the President of the Senate at Mechlin, July 14, 1552, he wrote: "Egmond may hate me, but I have kept many persons from joining Luther, and my announcement that I mean to stand by the Pope has been an obstacle in Luther's way. Had I joined him there would have been princes enough to protect me."(2)

Erasmus would not aid Luther; neither would he write against him. For this reason he was attacked by both Catholics and Protestants. Erasmus describes the situation in his letter to Nicholas Berald, Louvain, February 16, 1521: "The Dominicans pelt me daily in their sermons. I bear it for the sake of the Faith, and am a martyr like Stephen. Stephen, however, was stoned but once, and was then at rest. I am battered unceasingly with stones which are poisoned. They care not for themselves so long as they can injure me. Luther has discredited me and my cause. All know that the Church has been tryannical and corrupt, and many have been busy thinking how it can be reformed. But medicines wrongly applied make the patient worse, and when attempts are made and fail, the symptoms only grow more dangerous. Would that Luther had held his peace, or had gone to work more discreetly."(3)

Erasmus did not reply to Luther because he did not feel

(1) Froude, J.A., *Life and Letters of Erasmus*, pages 284 and 285.

(2) Ibid, page 304.

(3) Ibid, page 281.

himself qualified to do so. To Peter Barbirius, Bruges, August 13, 1521, he explained: "I was accused on one side from the pulpits of being in a conspiracy with Luther, on the other I was entreated to join him. I saw the peril of neutrality but I cannot and will not be a rebel. Luther's friends quote, 'I came not to send peace on earth, but a sword.' Of course the Church requires reform, but violence is not the way to it. Both parties behaved like maniacs. You may ask me why I have not written against Luther. Because I had no leisure, because I was not qualified, because I would sooner face the lances of the Switzers than the pens of enraged theologians. There are plenty to do it besides me---bishops, cardinals, kings, with stakes and edicts as many as they please. Besides, it is not true that I have done nothing. Luther's friends (who were once mine also) do not think so. They have deserted me and called me a Pelagian. But if severity is to be the course, someone else, and not I must use the rod. God will provide a Nebuchadnezzar to scourge us if we need scourging." (1)

Erasmus, like the other great humanists, believed in toleration and moderation. He was as disheartened by intolerance on one side as on the other. Of the Catholics under Ferdinand and the Emperor, he said: "Far be it from me to accuse the Emperor and Ferdinand of cruelty. Both of them stood my firm friends when my enemies wanted to destroy

(1) Froude, J.A., Life and Letters of Erasmus, pages 287 - 288.

me. But I had rather the plague could be stayed by quiet remedies than by the deaths of thousands of human creatures, and in this I do not say what Augustine said, and Jerome and other champions of the Faith. I am not pleading for heretics. I speak in the interests of the princes themselves and of Catholic truth. The poison has gone deep. If the sword is to be the cure, good and bad will fall alike by it, and none can tell what the end will be. Charity and humanity recommend milder courses. It is not what heretics deserve, but what is most expedient for Christendom. The donatists were worse than heretics, yet Augustine did not wish them killed. I blame neither Charles nor Ferdinand. The heretics challenged them, and have earned what they may get, but I wish this war would end, as I have told the Emperor again and again; and as to heresy, it is better to cure a sick man than to kill him. To say that severity will fail to cure heresy is not to defend it, but to point out how it could be dealt with better." (1)

Of the Lutherans, Erasmus talked in the same vein. To Melancthon he wrote: "Is it for this that we have shaken off bishops and Popes, that we may come under the yolk of such madmen as Otto and Paul?"(2)

Erasmus felt that the Lutherans were hindering rather than helping true learning, that they were against, and not with the Renaissance. He is quoted as saying: "I abhor the

(1) Froude, J.A., Life and Letters of Erasmus, pages 349-350.

(2) Ep. XIX, 113, 703, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. IX, page 731.

Evangelics, because it is through them that literature is everywhere declining, and upon the point of perishing." (1) The Evangelics, with whom sided many of the German humanists, were interested in theology mainly, and Erasmus was not.

Erasmus was discouraged with the Reformation, not only because the Reformers themselves demanded immediate religious and doctrinal reform regardless of humanism, but also because he feared the political turn that the movement was taking. In a letter to Faber he wrote: "The nobles favor the movement with an eye to the churchmen's lands and offices. The princes like to fish in troubled waters and plunder the wrecks which drive ashore. Go on with your stakes and prisons and you will have universal chaos." (2)

To the Bishop of Augsburg, August 26, 1528, he wrote: "I was alone in saying from the first that the disorder must be encountered in its germs; I was too true a prophet; the play which opened with universal hand-clapping, is ending as I foresaw that it must. The kings are fighting among themselves for objects of their own." (3)

Erasmus is justly called the greatest of the humanists. He was the most excellent scholar of his day; his true interest was in learning, and he did all in his power to extend its influence. He was not primarily interested in religion; in doctrinal matters whatever his private opinion might be,

(1) Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. IX, page 731.

(2) Froude, J.A., Life and Letters of Erasmus, page 334.

(3) Ibid, page 350.

1. Theological Encyclopedia, Vol. IX, page 731.
 2. Theological Encyclopedia, Vol. IX, page 731.
 3. Theological Encyclopedia, Vol. IX, page 731.

in historical matters whatever his private opinion might be,
 his influence. He was not primarily interested in religious
 reform and in learning, and he did all in his power to extend
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 I remember that it was. The kings are fighting among them-
 selves which seemed with universal head-slapping. It ending as
 he encountered in the future; I was too late a knight; the
 "I was alone in capital from the time that the disorder was
 to the taking of Geneva. August 20, 1580. He wrote:
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 whose whole spirit differs. So on this point stated and pris-
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 1580, were interested in theology chiefly, and Erasmus was not.
 The Reformation, with about half of the human world-
 everywhere, because it is through them that liberation is

Erasmus was willing to submit to the Church. He thoroughly believed in reform in all kinds of abuses, and the raising of the morals of the clergy. He was willing to compromise in matters that he considered as not being too closely connected with essential doctrines. In the beginning he agreed with Luther and would encourage him, but he was soon alienated by Luther's forceful ways and violent language. It was not so much what Luther said, as the way he said it that antagonized Erasmus, who preferred brilliant satire to pungent invective. Erasmus wished toleration, that disputes might be settled by learned men in quiet council, whereas Luther insisted on fighting for what he held to be the truth, regardless of consequences. Erasmus, as a humanist, aided the incipient Reformation; Erasmus, as a humanist, repudiated the movement completed.

Erasmus marks the peak of the revival of learning. After his day, the Renaissance gradually disappeared. Some phases, as the work of the humanists in Germany, mingled with the Reformation; others, such as the art of the Netherlands and of Italy, though in both cases influenced to some extent by Reformation and counter-Reformation, seemed on the whole to follow to the close, the distinct path of the Renaissance; and the final aspects, as for example the genius of the Spaniards, mingled almost entirely with the Catholic Counter-Reformation.

Such was the Renaissance, its causes, nature, and effects. Consider now the Reformation.

The Nature of the Reformation

Historians have never been agreed as to what were the fundamental causes or characteristics of the Reformation. Many, including Bossuet and Voltaire, have held the opinion, expressed by Pope Leo X when speaking of Luther, that the whole matter was raised by an academical quarrel of monks. (1) Others have felt that the conflict was merely a continuance, in a more violent form of the old conflict between Pope and Emperor for political supremacy. (2) Still others, like Fisher, contend that, "Before, a vast institution had been interposed between the individual and the objects of religious faith and hope. The Reformation changed all this; it opened to the individual a direct access to the heavenly good offered him in the Gospel." (3) And again the opinion is held that the Reformation was a revolution in religion against law and restraint, caused by the inherent individualism of the Teutonic peoples. Finally, it has been said that the Reformation was a social movement, effected in the main by the changed economic conditions of the Renaissance.

I. The Church and the Forces within It Working toward the Reformation

Before discussing the relations between the Renaissance and Reformation, however, it is necessary to review the facts, to look into the structure and influence of the Church during the Middle Ages, the place of the early heresies against the

(1) Fisher, G.P., History of the Reformation, page 3.

(2) Ibid, page 4.

(3) Ibid, page 3.

The Nature of the Reformation

Reformation have never been agreed as to what were the fundamental causes or circumstances of the Reformation. Many, including Protestant and Catholic, have held the opinion, expressed by those who I when speaking of Luther, that the whole matter was raised by an accidental quarrel of monks. (1) Others have held that the conflict was merely a consequence, in a more violent form of the old conflict between Rome and emperor for political supremacy. (2) Still others, like Harnack, contend that "before" a vast institution had been introduced between the individual and the objects of religious faith and hope. The Reformation changed all this; it opened to the individual a direct access to the heavenly good offered him in the gospel. (3) And again the opinion is held that the Reformation was a revolution in religion against law and ritualism, caused by the inherent individualism of the Teutonic peoples. Finally, it has been said that the Reformation was a social movement, effected in the main by the changed economic conditions of the Renaissance.

It is the Church and the forces within it working toward the

Reformation

Before discussing the relations between the Renaissance and Reformation, however, it is necessary to review the facts, to look into the structure and influence of the Church during the Middle Ages, the rise of the early Protestants against the

(1) Albert R. C. History of the Reformation, page 1.

(2) Ibid., page 4.

(3) Ibid., page 1.

Church, and to consider the ideals, works, and accomplishments of the later Reformers.

During the Middle Ages, the Church, in the structure of its hierarchy and the nature of its doctrines was the same as it is to-day.

The Church has always held, and the later Reformers have denied that this organization of the Church is based upon Scripture and tradition, and that the founder of the Church thus constituted was Christ Himself; that the Pope is the successor of St. Peter; and that bishops and priests are the successors of the other Apostles. Passages of the Scriptures are quoted as authority for the structure of the Church, most important being that in which Christ, in the presence of the disciples, said to Peter:

"Thou art Peter (Cephas, Rock) and

On this Rock I will build my Church; and

I will give to thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; and

Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound
in Heaven; and

Whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed
in Heaven." (Mt. 16, 13 - 19)

The Church as thus constituted and formed, and the sacraments administered in the Church were to the medieval Christians the sole means of salvation. The sacraments which thus formed an essential part of the Christian religion, and which later became the storm center of the Reformation, were seven in number: Baptism, Confirmation, Holy Eucharist, Penance,

Church, and to consider the Church, State, and Government.

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Extreme Unction, Holy Orders, and Matrimony.

A consideration of the sacramental system does much to explain the influence of the clergy during the Middle Ages, and the place that the Church held in the social system. The priest was among the common people, because of his sacred power in administering the sacraments, their greatest consolation in sorrow, their chief judge in sin, and their dearest friend in happiness.

Aside from the religious aspect, the influence of the Church during the Middle Ages was very great particularly in social matters, since the Church was the agency which cared for the poor, provided hospitals and inns, and offered practically the sole means of education.

1. The Early Heresies.

While the church extended over the whole of Western Europe, northeastern Europe was in part Arian, and in the Balkan Peninsula, Greece, and Russia, the people were toward the end of the Middle Ages, predominantly Greek Orthodox. Thus it may be seen that the Reformation, which is commonly considered as beginning in 1517, was not entirely a new growth; its significance lies in its extent and results. In the early history of the Church and continuing through the Middle Ages, there were numerous heresies; some were effectually combatted and entirely died out, whereas others, though apparently smothered, continued to smoulder, and eventually burst into flame as a part of the Reformation.

James Oglethorpe, John Oglethorpe, and John Oglethorpe.

A consideration of the historical evidence leads to
explain the influence of the clergy during the Middle Ages,
and the place which the Church held in the social system.
The priest was among the common people, because of his
work in administering the sacraments, their spiritual
father in theory, their chief guide in life, and their nearest
friend in distress.

Aside from the religious aspect, the influence of the
Church during the Middle Ages was very great politically
in social matters, since the Church was everywhere which
acted for the poor, provided education and food, and offered
protection to the weak against the strong.

1. The Early Middle Ages

While the Church extended over the whole of Western
Europe, notwithstanding the fact that in parts of Asia, and in the
Eastern Empire, Rome, and Greece, the people were still
and the end of the Middle Ages, gradually with the
fall of Rome it began to lose its influence, which in
consequence resulted in the beginning of 1517, was not entirely
a new growth, its significance lies in its extent and scope.
In the early history of the Church and Christianity through
the Middle Ages, there were numerous periods; some were
ethnically collected and actually dated, others obscure,
though generally numbered, according to number, and
eventually dated into three as a part of the reformation.

Among the most notable of the heresies were the Arian, Manichean, Albigensian and Waldensian.

The structure and influence of the medieval Church, and the nature of the early heresies form the background of the Reformation, but the actual driving forces that brought to a culmination the Reformation itself may be said to have started in the thirteenth century when the Papacy had reached the zenith of its political power. The struggle over investitures was past, the Hohenstaufen dream of the supremacy of the Emperor was shattered, and the influence of the Church was everywhere predominant. Yet in this very height of Papal glory are to be found the first evidences of decadence.

2. The Growth of Nationalism and the Papal Residence at Avignon.

During this period began the struggle over the question of apostolic poverty, which tore apart the order of St. Francis, and profoundly influenced Wiclif in the next century when he advocated his doctrine of "Dominion of Grace". The greatest force, however, which operated against the Papacy, even in the century of its greatest power, was the ever growing spirit of nationalism, which soon resulted, aided by other causes, in bringing to pass the so called "Babylonian Exile" at Avignon, and the scandalous schism. The growing power of the lay state throughout Europe, but particularly in France, soon brought the monarchy into conflict with the Papacy, and Philip the Fair into conflict with Boniface VIII.

among the most notable of the historians were the English,

Scottish, and American.

The English and Scottish of the medieval Church, and

the nature of the early history from the beginning of the

reformation, and the actual driving power that brought

to a conclusion the reformation itself may be said to have

started in the thirteenth century when the papacy had reached

the height of its political power. The struggle over investiture

between the papacy and the monarchs of the empire of

the papacy was continued, and the influence of the Church

was everywhere predominant. Yet in this very field of

local history we do find the first evidence of freedom.

II. The Growth of Nationalism and the Papal Renaissance at

England.

During this period began the struggle over the papacy

of papal power, which was again the origin of the

struggle, and which was continued until the next century.

When we consider his doctrine of "the law of God," the

papal power, however, which was again the origin of the

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struggle of papal power, which was again the origin of the

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The war between England and France precipitated the struggle; Philip's taxation of the clergy was met by Boniface's bull Clericis laicos forbidding the clergy to pay taxes levied by the state; then followed the bull Unam Sanctam declaring the supremacy of the Papacy; the clergy and the people of France stood behind the king, and the outcome was the disgraceful assault upon Boniface at Anagni, followed shortly by the death of the Pope. Philip had violated a quasi-contract, the age old custom of exemption of even the least of the clergy from taxation by the state; the question was not settled by the death of Boniface, but with all the other contributing factors led on to the Reformation. From the death of Boniface on, the French monarchy decided to control the Papacy. The next Pope, Benedict XI, died soon after his election; his successor, Clement V, removed the Papal residence to Avignon. The Papacy lost much of its universality; it appeared to be subservient to the French Court. The effect was twofold: it alienated the other nations of Europe, and accelerated abuses within the Church, particularly in matters of finance. The relations between Germany and the Papacy since the struggle over investitures had been none too cordial; now with the Pope under the hereditary enemy of the Germans, the King of France, these relations became even more strained. France and England were already at war, and the English people championed by Wiclif, rebelled against paying taxes to the Pope, which they feared would eventually find their way into the French treasury. In Italy there was

the war between England and France presented the same
problem. The question of the energy was not by England's hand
but by the energy of the energy to pay taxes levied
by the state. The state followed the path of England's taxation
the energy of the energy; the energy and the energy of
the energy of the energy, and the energy of the energy
presented the same problem as England. The energy of the energy
by the energy of the energy. The energy had violated a general prin-
ciple, the energy of the energy of the energy of the energy of
the energy of the energy by the energy. The energy was not
called by the energy of the energy, but with all the other en-
ergy factors led on to the energy. From the energy
of England on, the energy energy energy to control the
energy. The energy of the energy, the energy of the energy
energy; the energy of the energy, the energy of the energy
energy to England. The energy of the energy of the energy
it appeared to be equivalent to the energy of the energy. The energy
was provided; it appeared to be the energy of the energy, and
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anarchy; no single occupant of a throne was a legitimate ruler; confusion reigned; and the Pope was universally denounced for deserting the people.

It was during this "Babylonian Exile" that the Order of the Knights Templars was suppressed. Hitherto several Popes had been obliged to censure individual knights or groups in the Order. Philip IV now determined on the suppression of the whole Order, and the Pope was docile. Rumors of heresy, luxury and vice were widely circulated, and many of the charges were substantiated. Confessions were made and retracted. The result of the investigation was the finest collection of contradictory evidence the world has ever known. In England there were few local instances of guilt; in Germany, Spain and the Island of Cyprus the report was favorable to the Order; but in France there was plenty of crime and heresy of the Albigensian type. Incidentally, although the property of the Order was nominally turned over to the Order of the Hospital, most of the spoils went to Philip IV. The scandal caused by the investigation of the Knights Templars was published, and affected the religious fervor of all the peoples of Europe; thus another element was added to the anti-clerical mentality already taking shape in preparation for the coming Reformation.

Meanwhile Papal finances at Avignon were badly mismanaged and increased taxes were resorted to. Enormous sums were spent, partly on worthy motives such as missionary work, partly on luxurious and unnecessary lavishness in the Papal

Court. Old sources of revenue were drained, and new sources were devised. Abuses crept in; "Reservations", "Expectatives" "Annates", now became familiar terms, and the peoples of Europe, because of these financial abuses, were further alienated from the Papacy.

The residence at Avignon was finally brought to an end by the return of Gregory XI to Rome. Demand for the return of the Popes during the seventy years of exile had been constant, and Gregory finally gained courage enough to take the decisive step. To what degree he was influenced by St.Catherine of Siena, is uncertain; some historians feel that she had little influence in affecting the actual political situation.(1) Others state that she saved the Papacy.

3. The Schism in the Church.

Closely following the return of the Pope from Avignon came the misfortune of the schism. Gregory XI died soon after his arrival in the Eternal City. His successor was Urban VI. The circumstances of Urban's election were unusual. While the conclave was in session, the mob outside continually clamored for a Roman, or at least an Italian Pope, though calling no particular name. The people wished to prevent if possible a return of French influence. The Italian Pope Urban was elected, on April 8, 1378. To show that there was no intimidation, the cardinals on the following day proceeded to a second voting with the same result. But the action of the Roman people, the bursting

(1) Emerton, E., The Beginnings of Modern Europe, page 152.

into the palace after the election but before the results were known, and the announcement that the Archbishop of St. Peter's had been elected, instead of the true Pope, all tended to give the procedure such a color that months afterwards when the question arose as to the validity of the election, the matter could not be settled, and the schism was the result. Immediately following the election there was a general acceptance of Urban IV. After two months, however, the new Pope alienated many cardinals by his tactless behavior. It is thought that his unexpected elevation caused him to become mentally deranged. St. Catherine of Siena asked him to restrain his temper. Many cardinals and bishops became estranged; Joanna of Naples, with whom the Pope had quarreled, invited the seceding cardinals, the majority of whom were French, to Fundi; and it appears the French King also gave them his support. The discontented cardinals declared the Roman See vacant. Urban retorted by appointing new cardinals; and the result was the schism. For years, attempts at reconciliation were in vain, council followed council, Pope followed Pope on each side, promises were made and broken, a third line of claimants to the Roman See was added. France eventually withdrew her obedience from the Avignon Popes, but did not transfer it to the Roman See, taking the position that France could get along without any Pope. Finally the Council of Constance, December 9, 1413, was called by the Emperor. The Council according

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to, and to give the procedure with a color that makes
statements when the question arose as to the validity
of the election, the matter could not be settled, and
the election was the result. Immediately following the elec-
tion there was a general acceptance of Urban IV. After
two months, however, the new Pope attempted many difficulties
in his political behavior. It is thought that his un-
settled situation caused him to become mentally deranged.
At the time of his death he was in terrible pain.
Many difficulties and changes became necessary; however, of
course, also since the Pope was deranged, he could not be
called to the throne, the majority of whom were French, to
himself, and it appears the reason they also have been his
reports. The elected Pope decided the Roman
see vacant, Urban reported by appointing new candidates;
and the result was the election. For years, attempts at
reconciliation were in vain, until finally followed normally.
Pope followed Pope in each side, promises were made and
broken, a third line of claimants to the Roman See was
elected. Urban eventually withdrew his obedience from the
Avignon Pope, but did not transfer it to the Roman See,
taking the position that Urban could get along without
any Pope. Finally the Council of Constance, December 5,
1417, was called by the Emperor. The Council according

to Canon Law, was not ecumenical; but when other matters, among them the condemnation of Hus, which will be discussed later, had been taken care of, and after the deposition of John XXIII and of Benedict XIII, Gregory XII legally invoked the Council in his own authority, and read his abdication. The schism was at an end.

The results of the schism, however, lasted long after the Council of Constance, and were an important contributing factor leading to the Reformation. The existence of two claimants to the Papacy, each excommunicating the other, caused much confusion. Neither Pope was powerful enough to assume the customary authority of the Papacy. Heresies, as those of Occam, Wiclif, and Hus, spread and flourished, and became valuable contributions to the Reformation. During the period of the schism the Black Death was rampant in Continental Europe and in England, the ranks of the clergy were decimated, so that ordination was conferred on those desiring it, after only a poor preparation, with the consequence that many of the clergy were unable to properly fulfil their religious duties. The Papacy, which in earlier times, might have taken steps to remedy the bad conditions, was powerless to make any influence felt. Therefore the schism affected the political situation in Europe, and tended even more than had been true formerly, to confuse nationality with religion. France, Aragon, Castile and Scotland favored the Avignon line; England, Germany and the other leading nations followed the Roman obedience. Political hatreds were thus mingled with re-

ligious differences. It is interesting to note that in the later Reformation, practically the same political situation is found, with the notable exception of Scotland and Italy, who reversed their positions. During this period also there was a marked diminution of clerical power. With the central authority of the Papacy weakened and contested, the civil powers throughout Europe appropriated no inconsiderable portion of the rights and privileges of the Church. The tendency continued and of course increased during the period of the Reformation (1).

The most important result of the schism, however, is probably the impetus given to the Conciliar movement. The question at the outbreak of the schism was not one of faith or morals, but of fact. As time went on the tendency of both parties to turn to the authority of the Council rather than to that of the Pope, began to have important consequences. The doctrine of Papal supremacy and infallibility was questioned; the Pope was declared, in many circles to be subject to a general council of the whole Church. This naturally involved the destruction of the hierarchy, of the priesthood, and then of the Holy Eucharist, leaving the Church without foundation. The Conciliar movement, which foreshadowed the later doctrine of the "priesthood of the Christian man" by admitting all Christians to Church councils, was hailed by many as the very spirit of liberty, and was a basic factor in the evolution of Protestantism. The Conciliar movement eventually collapsed, and repudiated decrees against

(1) Ranke, L von, History of the Popes, Vol I, page 28.

the authority of the Pope, holding that pre-election promises forced from the Popes were not binding. Yet, although the movement itself collapsed, its work was permanent in that it had introduced the idea of democracy in the structure of the Church to the European people.

III. The Early Reformers

The exile at Avignon and the schism, in addition to creating causes and conditions leading to the great Reformation of the sixteenth century, also aided in the development of contemporaneous heresies which in their turn made important contributions to the coming Reformation.

1. Wiclif.

The outstanding figure of this period, the leader who personally contributed most to the theological and political elements of the later Reformation, was John Wiclif. He was born in 1324 in Yorkshire, England, and was educated at Oxford, where he subsequently became a teacher of theology. In his public life he was allied with John of Gaunt, a younger son of Edward III, who supported him in his attacks upon the Church, particularly in regard to Church property. As Wiclif lived during the exile at Avignon and the early part of the schism, a time of great dissension within the Church, his teachings, commencing with criticism of policies and discipline, gradually took on the character of opposition to doctrine as well. Because of the nature of the times,

however, Wiclif, though his doctrines were condemned, some as heretical and some as erroneous, was allowed to live in peace. Wiclif, though denying Catholic doctrine, did not give up his parish at Lutterworth, but continued to live there and perform his duties as a country priest until he died in 1384.

Wiclif came to public notice as an ecclesiastical Reformer, whose energies were directed toward the abolition of political abuses within the Church. He first turned his attention to the increasing wealth of the Church, for he felt that temporal splendor derived from its enormous property was opposed to Evangelical poverty, and he firmly advocated the disendowment of the Church, for in his opinion it would relieve the pressure of taxation on the poor. Wiclif saw no other solution than returning the endowments to the classes that originally had enriched the Church. To such a plan, John of Gaunt, then at the height of his power, was very willing to offer his full political support. An alliance thus sprang up between John of Gaunt and Wiclif, prompted by purely selfish interests on the one side and by a desire for ecclesiastical reform on the other.

Doubtless it was the protection of John of Gaunt, which enabled Wiclif to expound his doctrinal theories and to give them, through his own writings and the preaching of the Lollards, to the English people.

Wiclif did not confine himself to political reform

within the Church; his attention was drawn more and more toward the doctrines that are the very foundation of the Church. Turning thus from politics to philosophy, Wiclif was influenced by William of Occam, a Franciscan, and Marsilius of Padua, both brilliant schoolmen, who in taking a stand against the Papacy, were the precursors of Wiclif, and through him of the later German Reformers. To understand their influence upon Wiclif, or if that be questioned, at least the similarity in doctrine, it would be well to note their teachings.

There is no need to distinguish between the doctrines of Marsilius and Occam, as Pope Clement VI, in condemning Occam, declared that "he taught Marsilius his worst errors". Both philosophers held: that the structure of the Church under Papal government is a matter of human invention, and not essential to a fine conception of the Church; that Popes and even Councils have been in error; that the essence of the Church is all the individuals who compose it, hence though a part may be wrong, the whole cannot be; that the source of law is the people; and that there can be nothing higher than the Christian character, the principle of the "priesthood of the Christian man"; and finally that the clergy are subject to the rule of "evangelical poverty".

As will be seen later in the exposition of Wiclif's doctrines, the great similarity between his and those mentioned above, indicate a probably influence of this philosophy on Wiclif.

As to the influence of earlier heretical sects upon Wiclif, there is some controversy. Mandel Creighton states: "He was entirely unaffected by any external influences, by any theories of the Waldenses or other mystics". (1) On the other hand, Stone quotes from Lecler's Johan von Wiclif, Vol I, page 56, "Although not hitherto preached from the house-tops, none of Wiclif's theories could be called novelties. They had originated with the Albigenses and the Waldenses, called in Germany Peterines, in Italy Arnoldists, (from Arnold of Brescia), in England they had been professed about the middle of the twelfth century by the offshoots of a revolutionary sect known as Lathari". (2) A very important influence upon Wiclif's work and mental development came from within the Church itself, in the form of the Papal residence at Avignon, and immediately following upon that, the schism. Wiclif, it cannot be denied, was an ardent patriot, and the position of the Papacy, domiciled upon French soil, was directly opposed to his English nationalistic feeling. The Church in being forced into this lamentable dependence upon the King of France, was placed at a marked disadvantage with regard to the English people, who in their hatred of France now had a special reason for antagonism toward the temporal government of the Church. Wiclif was opposed to paying taxes to the Pope, for he felt that the money of the English people would eventually find its way into the coffers of the French King, or would be spent for purposes in

(1) Creighton, M., Historical Essays and Reviews, pages 1-173.

(2) Stone, J.M., Renaissance and Reformation, page 26.

to the influence of earlier historical events upon
Wittke, there is some controversy. General attention should
be not entirely directed to any single influence, but
the character of the influence of other persons, it is the
main point. Wittke's views are based upon the
fact that, although not directly connected with the
historical movement of Wittke's generation, he was
influenced by the movement with the English and the
American, which is very important, in their political
history. Wittke, as English, has been protected
from the influence of the English, but the influence of
the English is the result of the influence of
a revolutionary movement known as "Wittke" (Wittke is a very important
movement upon Wittke's part and mental development and
from which the English took, in the form of the English
movement at Wittke, and Wittke's following was that, the
English Wittke, it cannot be denied, was an English person,
and the position of the English, denied upon French soil,
was directly opposed to his English nationalist feeling.
The English in being forced into this English dissonance
upon the King of France, was placed at a marked disadvantage
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France now had a special reason for antagonism toward the
national government of the English. Wittke was opposed to
paying taxes to the Pope, for he felt that the money of the
English people would eventually find its way into the
hands of the French King, or would be spent for purposes in
(1) Wittke, M., Historical Essays and Reviews, pages 1-175.
(2) Stone, J. M., Wittke's and Wittke's, page 1.

which the English had little if any spiritual interest, such as the wars of Gregory in Tuscany and Romagna.

The schism in the Church had its definite influence upon Wiclif; among other effects, it led him to deny the Petrine theory, for as he watched the struggle of the two claimants for the throne, he gradually came to the conclusion that each was equally anti-Christ, and that the institution of the Papacy was mischievous and destructive.

Such in brief were the factors which influenced Wiclif in his political and doctrinal attack on the Church. But to understand what Wiclif himself actually did, to what extent he influenced posterity, it will be necessary to survey the changes in dogma that he advocated. The first innovation that Wiclif favored, and perhaps the most interesting because of its widespread influence, is that termed the "Dominion of Grace", which is characterized by Trevelyan, as an elaborate scholastic argument for the secularization of Church property. (1) Wiclif in proposing his belief states that "God, therefore, is the sole Lord of the world, He became its Lord by the creation; all lordship of men is a lordship founded on force; only so far as it is in accordance with God's law is it a rightful lordship." (2) In addition to this, but less well known, however, is Wiclif's view that the bad master must nevertheless be obeyed, the servant must remain in bondage, etc. (3)

(1) Trevelyan, G.M., England in the Age of Wycliffe, page 41.

(2) Creighton, M., Historical Essays and Reviews, page 195.

(3) Gairdner, J., Lollardy and the Reformation in

England, Vol I, page 14.

which the English had little if any political interest.
 such as the case of Germany in 1871 and 1872.
 The nation in the United States had its definite influence
 upon the world; many other nations, it had him to help the
 nation itself. For as he watched the struggle of the two
 nations for the future, he gradually came to the con-
 clusion that each was equally well-armed, and that the
 institution of the treaty was necessary and desirable.
 That is what were the factors which influenced him
 in his political and economic aspect on the future, and to
 understand that which himself actually did, to what extent
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 to this, but here well known, however, is Trevelyan's view
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(1) Trevelyan, G. A. "The Dominion of Peace" in the age of Trevelyan, p. 12.
 (2) Trevelyan, G. A. "The Dominion of Peace" in the age of Trevelyan, p. 12.
 (3) Trevelyan, G. A. "The Dominion of Peace" in the age of Trevelyan, p. 12.

The doctrine of the "Dominion of Grace" was applied by Wiclif to the Church; it was applied with equal force later by the Lollards to the State. Wiclif maintained that the Church should hold no property, as property is a burden hindering spiritual work; hence if the Church persists in holding property, it is the duty of the state to take over its lands and revenues. He further advocated that such taking of Church property should serve as a penalty for delinquent clergy. In this respect he also struck at the Petrine theory, for he contended in accordance with his doctrine of "Dominion of Grace", that if a Pope is unworthy, he loses his right to rule, and his decrees are not binding.

In thus denying the Pope as supreme authority, Wiclif comes into accord with the Conciliar movement in Europe; and in resting upon individual interpretation of the Bible as the true source of knowledge, he foreshadows the European leaders of the Reformation. Wiclif, like his predecessors, Marsilius and Occam, favored a council of the entire Church; according to Gairdner, he did not advance any of his opinions without deference to the possible judgment of a united Church, pronounced when all his arguments had been heard. (1) Under the circumstances of a general council, Wiclif believed the whole Church to be infallible, but the Pope at times might err.

The positive basis that Wiclif set up, in place of Papal authority, however, was the Bible. At first he admitted two sources of interpretation; reason and the exposition of the

(1) Gairdner, J., Lollardy and the Reformation in England, Vol 1, p. 66.

doctors of the Church. Later he advanced beyond this position, and in his writings insisted that the Holy Ghost alone can expound the Scriptures to the individual Christian; those only can hope to understand the word of God who lead a holy life and humbly seek truth.

From the exposition of his belief in the "Dominion of Grace" and his denial of Papal authority, Wiclif then followed the only logical course, and in 1380, he denied the dogma of Transubstantiation, the fundamental doctrine of the Catholic Church. He taught that as Christ's Godhead and Manhood co-exist in one person, Christ's Body co-exists with the bread. On this basis he stated that adoration of the Host is mere idolatry. (1)

As a consequence to the denial of Transubstantiation, there naturally followed in Wiclif's teachings a deprecation of the importance attached to the other sacraments, though it may be said that he made an exception in favor of Matrimony. As to Penance, he did not believe a confession to be necessary. Compulsory confession to a priest, he considered harmful, and quite unnecessary for absolution.

The importance hitherto placed upon the sacraments, Wiclif would transfer to the pulpit. To him preaching seemed the most effectual means of arousing men to a sense of their personal relation to God, and of the importance of their every act in its effect upon their future salvation. The aim of the priesthood he felt, should be preaching rather

(1) Creighton, M. Historical Essays and Reviews, page 190.

than administering the sacraments, a theory he put into practice in the training of his "poor priests", subsequently known as the Lollards.

As to the belief in purgatory, Wiclif seems to have agreed, but he repudiated nevertheless, Masses for the dead, indulgences, and the "merits of the saints", the latter he declared to be a blasphemy without grounds.

Numerous others of Wiclif's doctrines, though less pronounced, foreshadow to a considerable extent, the later movement upon the continent, among them being the unity and independence of the national Church from the Church of Rome, and the idea of predestination, so important in the Calvinistic theology.

To turn now to the chief influence of Wiclif's works and doctrines upon the coming Reformation. On the same plane of importance with his changes in creed, is to be considered his translation of the Bible. According to Gairdner, "Wiclif's chief bequest to posterity was his English Bible, and the great idea that the laity too might quench their spiritual thirst directly from the Well of Life." (1) On this point Cross, remarks: "Wiclif's second agency in the translation of the Bible which he perfected, supervised, and assisted to carry out, though the bulk of the work was done by an associate, and after Wiclif's death was revised and reissued in a completer form. Although not a stylist, Wiclif's achievements in spreading the Bible among the people exerted an influence which entitle him to be called

(1) Gairdner, J., Lollardy and the Reformation in England, Vol. I, page 12.

"father of English prose".(1) Another view is taken by Sir Thomas More, who is quoted by Gasquet as saying: "In this translation he purposely corrupted the holy text, maliciously planting in it such words, as might in the reader's ears serve to prove such heresies as he went about to sow." (2)

In view of the fact that there is some controversy as to the nature and extent of Wiclif's work in translating the Bible, It might be well to consider the matter in some detail, not only to understand Wiclif the better, but also to throw more light on the nature of the times immediately preceding the Reformation in England.

Wiclif's aim, according to Gairdner, was to translate the Bible into the vernacular in order to make it accessible to the common people; according to Stone his purpose was to make a new translation of the Scriptures in such a way as to prove and to emphasize his doctrinal theories. In view of such conflicting statements the question arises as to what evidence there is to prove or disprove the existence of English translations of the Bible before the time of Wiclif.

Gairdner himself states that there is some exaggeration in the common belief that Wiclif was the first to translate the Bible into English and that he did the entire work alone, in spite of the fact that within thirty years of Wiclif's death, John Hus of Bohemia writes of it

(1)Cross,A.L.,Shorter History of England and Greater Britain, page 151.

(2)Gasquet,F.A.,The Eve of the Reformation, page 209.

as a report among the English that Wiclif had accomplished do much.(1) It would be out of the question for a person even of Wiclif's ability to have done so much, in view of his immense work along other lines.

Archbishop Cranmer in his preface to the Bible speaks of old copies, especially Anglo-Saxon, but does not suggest that the newer translations were due to Wiclif. It would seem that there had always been English translations in whole or in part. In support of his assertion Sir Thomas More is very emphatic. In his dialogues, written some years before the Reformation broke out on the continent, he says: "The whole Bible was long before his day, by virtuous and well meaning men translated into the English tongue, and by good and Godly people with devotion and soberness well and reverently read."(2) More also claimed to have seen Bibles which anti-dated Wiclif, but Gairdner doubts More's judgment of their antiquity since Wiclif himself remarked that the Bible was translated into French, why not into English. It would hardly seem though, that More, one of the leading figures of the English Renaissance, could so easily fall into error in this matter. Gasquet is of the opinion that More's testimony admits of no doubt. Whether or not the entire Bible had been translated into the vernacular before Wiclif's time, it is certain that parts at least had been. Gairdner notes that in the north

(1) Gairdner, J., *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*, Vol I, page 102.

(2) *Ibid*, page 104.

of England, the Psalter, at least had been translated by Richard Rolle, the Hermit of Hampole. (1) In the North also, the separate Gospels and other Books of the New Testament had been fully translated. There are also versions of some Books that appear to be of Southern and Kentish origin.

If there is some question then, as to whether Wiclif was the first to translate the whole Bible into English, there can be no doubt that his version was widely circulated, and produced far-reaching effects. He succeeded in popularizing the Bible to an extent that met with the entire disapproval of the Church. The people were forbidden to read his version, and no new translations were to be allowed, without clerical authorization being first obtained. The strictness that later developed in the Church as to authorizing the reading of the Bible was a direct result of the popularizing of the versions of Wiclif and his successors. This restriction was however, according to More, very provincial as it held in no country but England, the people of the rest of Europe having the scriptures translated into their own tongue without restriction by the clergy. As to new translations, however, the objection within the Church was not to having Bibles written in the modern English tongue, but to the fear of errors creeping into the translations and being circulated among the people as the true word of God. This attitude is noted by Gairdner, who

(1) Gairdner, J., Lollardy and the Reformation in England, Vol. I, page 113.

quotes from the Clergy: "It is a dangerous thing, as St. Jerome declares, to translate the text of Holy Scripture out of one idiom into another, since it is not easy in translations to preserve exactly the same meaning in all things, and St. Jerome himself, though inspired, confessed he had often erred in that matter."(1)

From the controversy over the extent and nature of Wiclif's translation of the Bible, it may as well be concluded that Wiclif translated, if not all, at least part of the Bible; that his successors finished what he himself was unable to complete, and that his purpose in making a translation was fulfilled, for his work was widely circulated among an interested people.

Perhaps the most important part of the work done by Wiclif, and the most difficult to measure as to effect, was the training of his "poor priests", who became known later as the Lollards. Wiclif, in pursuance of his belief that preaching, and not administering the sacraments, was the true work of the Church, gathered around him a group of young priests whom he trained as pulpit speakers, then sent out among the people, to talk to them on matters of religion whenever the opportunity presented itself, whether on the country roads or in the city market place. As the movement spread, many of the preachers came not from the clergy but from the laity, and numerous political agitators joined

(1) Gairdner, J., Lollardy and the Reformation in England, Vol. I, page 109.

the ranks of the Lollards, and connected them with the instigation of the Peasants' Revolt. The movement was finally suppressed to all outward appearances, by the statute de haeretico comburendo, 1401, in the reign of Henry IV.

Historians do not agree as to what extent Wiclif's Lollards influenced the English people and the course of the Reformation in England. It is not certain that at any time the "poor priests" were at work all over England, and as an organized sect they did not long survive Wiclif's death. According to Cross, they struck the first mortal blow at the Church of Rome in England, and they infused a spirit of earnestness into English life, which reached its fruition in the Puritan Revolution.(1) Yet other writers disagree. Gasquet sees no justification for assuming for the Reformation in England a line of descent from the Lollards,(2) whereas Stone, though admitting a small remnant of the sect to be in existence in the sixteenth century, feels that it had all but died out and that the continental Protestantism was grafted upon it. (3)

Gairdner takes the opposite point of view. He says that the leaven of Lollardy was widely diffused, and that its teachings have influenced men more or less through all succeeding centuries, mingling with and domineering over, though not causing the Reformation. (4)

Whether the Lollards as a sect had entirely died out at

(1) Cross, A.L., A shorter History of England and Greater Britain, page 151.

(2) Gasquet, F.A., The Eve of the Reformation, page 185.

(3) Stone, J.M., Reformation and Renaissance, page 52.

(4) Gairdner, Lollardy and the Reformation in England, page 100.

the time of the Reformation or not, it would seem that the extension of the influence of the movement started by Wiclif, which at one time had reached a position of much importance, must have acted in some degree toward divorcing the mind of the English people from the idea of a universal Roman Church.

The influence of Wiclif was not confined to England alone. His teachings were first carried to Bohemia after the marriage of Richard II to Anne, the daughter of the Emperor Charles IV, when there was constant communication between the two countries. Thus it happened that Hus studied the doctrines of Wiclif, which he took for his own, adding nothing and discarding nothing. Animated thus by the doctrines of his English predecessor, Hus defied the Council of Constance, and was shortly after turned over to the state, which burned him as a heretic. Hus, like Wiclif, was moved by the spirit of loyal patriotism, and has often been considered the chief representative of Bohemian Nationalism.

Wiclif also influenced Luther to a great extent, even though he had little thought of "Justification by Faith", Luther's central contention. It is well known that in the debate with Doctor Eck, Luther admitted that in many things he agreed with Hus, who, it has already been shown, was a true disciple of Wiclif. It has been mentioned that in his doctrine of predestination, as well as in other ways, Wiclif held much in common with Calvin. Many of the doctrines of

the doctrines of Wiclif are undoubtedly of Protestant nature. In all cases he may not have been the originator, but he put them into practical, emphatic form. His denial of the doctrine of Transubstantiation is without question an enormous contribution to the theology of the Reformation; it was the attacking of the most vital, the fundamental doctrine of the Catholic Church.

2. Reformation within the Church.

While Wiclif and his successors, Hus, and Jerome of Prague, proceeded from condemnation of abuses to attack upon doctrine, there were other Reformers of perhaps less important careers who worked for the re-establishment of justice and order, but from within the Church. Among the numerous names to be mentioned, Gerhard Groot, Johannes Busche, St. John Capistran, Johannes Geiler, and others, perhaps the most outstanding is that of Cardinal Nicholas Cusa, the writer of the treatise On Catholic Unity, who first favored the opinions of the Council of Basle, but later turned to the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope.

While Cardinal d'Estouteville was meeting with considerable success in his mission to reform the Cathedral Chapter, Schools and Universities of France, Cardinal Cusa was sent by the Pope to Germany to do much the same work there. His particular object was to raise the tone of ecclesiastical life and to reform the moral abuses among the German people. Cardinal Cusa at first met with

much opposition. Many of the people, and even of the clergy, still adhering to the principles of the Council of Basle, objected to reform emanating from the central authority, and still placed the bishops before the Pope. As the Cardinal proceeded through Germany, however, he preached to the laity, made rules for the secular clergy, and reformed the monastic orders. In visiting the Archduchy of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, the Province of Salzburg, and a part of Bavaria, Cardinal Cusa reformed about fifty houses.⁽¹⁾ The discord between the Mendicant Friars and the secular clergy of the diocese of Bamberg, the Reformer ended by a publication of the Lateran Council, 1215. Where the Cardinal himself could not go he sent delegates with full power to carry on the monastic reforms; he also re-established annual provincial chapters to assure the perpetuation of the improvements. The greatest, and the last of Cusa's labors in Germany, are the Provincial Councils of Mayence and Cologne. As an example of the kind of reform attempted by Cardinal Cusa, and particularly realized, might be cited the resolutions of the Provincial Council of Mayence, 1451. "The edict of the Council of Basle regarding the holding of Provincial and Diocesan Synods was adopted. In these Synods the treatise of St. Thomas Aquinas on the Articles of Faith and the Holy Sacraments was to be explained to those entrusted with the care of souls, and to be recommended as a useful handbook. A decree was passed dealing with

(1) Pastor, L., History of the Popes, Vol. II, page 112.

the usurious practice of the Jews, and another regarding concubinage amongst the clergy, who were to be made subject to the penal laws passed at Basle. The holding of markets on Sundays and festivals and the abuse of indulgences were forbidden, as also the erection of fresh confraternities to the prejudice of the public worship in the parish churches. The sentence of the interdict was limited by a very wise resolution. In order to keep up respect for the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, It was to be exposed only on the festival of Corpus Christi and during its octave. Other decrees had reference to abuses in nomination to posts in Cathedrals and Collegiate churches, and others again prescribed monastic reforms."(1) Much the same work as that done by Cardinal Cusa in the North, was accomplished by St. John Capistran in the South as well as in Moravia and in Poland. In many places after his sermons, men and women made public bonfires in the market places, of their dice, cards, false hair, paint and the like. (2)

Of hardly less importance was the worke of Johannes Busche. Busche was a student of Johannes Zele who worked for reform and whose school was made famous by Thomas a Kempis, Johannes Voss, and Cardinal Cusa. Busche worked especially for the reform of monasteries and convents, as well as of the secular clergy. Among the religious orders, Busche found some chapters to have wandered far from the ideal of religious

(1)

Pastor, L., History of the Popes, Vol II, page 133.

(2) Ibid, page 129.

community life; in others he found the rules well obeyed. His work in the monasteries he visited, seems to have been effective. His explanation for conditions was that parents often forced their children into religious orders, when those children had no vocation, merely for the sake of a comfortable living derived from some benefice. In working among the secular clergy, he found on the whole that moral conditions were better than he had been led to expect.(1)

Another of these early Reformers, Johannes Geiler, when in the city of Strassburg, strongly protested against the strictness of the old law which had forbidden criminals to communicate before public execution, and the magistrature in 1485, abolished the law. Geiler also worked for the correction of abuses connected with certain religious feasts in the cathedral city, but less successfully. Geiler vehemently opposed the wild buffoonery in connection with the "Boy Bishop" at the feast of the Holy Innocents and of Pentacost. and the antics of the "roaring ape" who was considered an integral part of the Whitsuntide ceremonies; but the mob in those cases was too strong for Geiler; and the blasphemous behavior of the people continued until the Reformation. In fact, Geilers prayers and threats provoked so much antagonism that the scandal was even exaggerated.(2)

In general it may be stated, that although the Reformers met with some success individually, they were too few to cause any great change in the customs of the people,

(1) Stone, J.M., Reformation and Renaissance, page 85.

(2) Ibid, pages 96 - 98.

and were not properly supported by the majority of the higher churchmen.

3. The ecumenical Council of Julius II.

Reform within the Church by means of Councils, was again attempted, though the Councils of Constance and Basle had failed. The Emperor Maximilian had supported conciliar ideas, and in 1510 commissioned one of the leading theologians of the empire, Jacob Wimpheling a Schlettstadt professor, to draw up a plan of reform. Julius II, interested in the matter summoned an Ecumenical Council to Rome, but there was a small attendance, the Council being entirely composed of Italians. The Council started well, issued many useful orders and showed good intentions to abolish abuses, but the Curia later neglected to carry out the contemplated reforms. It is doubtful if in any event the Council could have averted the catastrophe in the North, for the inward alienation from Rome had been long going on, and neither the Pope nor the Lateran Council had the slightest conception of the state of affairs north of the Alps. The following Pope, Leo X, also further alienated the Germans by his agreement at Bologna with Francis I, of France (December 1515), whereby he gave away what he did not have to give. The King renounced the Pragmatic Sanction, and the Pope in return granted him the right of nomination to bishoprics, abbeys, and conventual priories. (1) Later Pope Adrian VI, on having the documents of Aegidius Viterbo laid before him, which pointed to the

(1) Kraus, F.X., Cambridge Modern History, Chap. I, pages 29-32.

nature of the trouble, as the misuse of Papal absolutions, wrote to the nuncio, Chiericato, in 1522, confessing, "We have all sinned, and there is not one that doeth good." (1)

4. Religious Confraternities.

Another feature during this period was the growth of an immense number of religious associations, or confraternities. These were not anti-clerical, but had a distinctly lay character. Ordinarily it was a rule of the organization to meet once a week or once a month for religious services, usually in a chapel belonging to one of the mendicant orders. (2) Cardinal Cusa in his work in Germany prohibited the erection of new confraternities, for he feared the laity would be encouraged to trust in fallacious piety, consisting solely in externals and nominal membership in many brotherhoods. Others, however, disagreeing with Cardinal Cusa, felt that the movement was a part of the religious revival beginning to sweep over Europe. (3)

IV. The Leonine Indulgence

Such were conditions in Europe, when the Leonine indulgence was announced, which became the occasion for Luther's attack upon the Church in 1517. Pope Leo X. wished to complete the building of St. Peter's Church, but as he was not in a financial position to pay for the work, he decided to announce an indulgence. From the beginning the Church doctrine was that indulgence was a remission in whole or

(1) Kraus, F.X., Cambridge Modern History, Chap. I, page 32.

(2) Lindsay, T.M. Cambridge Modern History, Chap. IV, page 108.

(3) Pastor, L., History of the Popes, Vol. IV, page 125.

in part of the temporal punishment due to sin. To obtain an indulgence, one must be in a state of grace and perform the works enjoined. In the Leonine indulgence this meant specifically, receiving the sacraments of Penance and Holy Eucharist and making some contribution to charity or religion, in this case the object of charity was the building of St. Peter's Church, and those who were unable to give money were to offer a certain number of prayers. Theoretically in announcing the indulgence there was nothing contrary to faith and morals. The Pope named the object of charity; the building of St. Peter's or the building of any church was so considered, for to the medieval mind no amount of money spent to adorn the edifice which contained the Holy Eucharist, was spent in vain. The indulgence given in this case was a plenary indulgence, or in other words the entire temporal punishment due to sin was forgiven, whereas in many cases only a certain number of "days" was forgiven. The words "plenary" and "days" should be explained here. An indulgence of thirty days did not mean that thirty days were cut off a person's sentence in purgatory, as the nature of or even the existence of time in death is indeterminable. From the "spiritual treasury" of the Church, consisting of the superabundant merits of Christ and the Saints, pardons were drawn remitting the canonical penances prescribed by the Church, or commuting them to a certain number of prayers to be said. In the early years of the Church there was a penal code under the Canon Law, the punishment for each offence being definite. For ex-

ample, the Canonical punishment for Idolatry was twenty years public penance. As the ages of faith waned, however, and a large number of the members of the Church were doing public penance, the Church began to commute the Canonical penance to prayers to be said, and increased the number of indulgences to be given. Thus thirty days indulgence was an equivalent for thirty days Canonical penance; a plenary indulgence satisfied for all Canonical penances that might have been imposed.

Such was the doctrine of indulgences; but the actual preaching of indulgences in Germany was subject to much abuse, particularly that termed the "selling of indulgences". There has been much discussion as to whether Tetzel, the chief agent of Albert of Brandenburg was guilty of this abuse or not, but there is no doubt that others were. Some of the clergy, when preaching, made erroneous statements, whether intentional or not, that seriously misrepresented the nature of the indulgences to the people. Whatever the abuses of individuals were in this case, it should be noted that the Church itself did not sanction "the selling of indulgences".(1)

The method of dividing the money which was collected as donations for the building of St. Peter's Church, was also subject to abuse. Albert of Brandenburg had been elected through political influence to the Sees of Magdeburg and Mayence, the latter carrying with it an electorate and the primacy of Germany. The archbishop was to pay a large sum

(1) Hausser, L., Period of the Reformation, page 18.

of money to the Pope for confirmation of his occupation of the two offices, but Mayence was already heavily in debt. Albert made arrangements with the Fuggers for loans, and with the Pope, who agreed that fifty per cent of the indulgence money should go to Albert and the rest to the Pope. It was also rumored that Albert was deeply involved in debt to pay a bribe to an unknown agent who had bought off a rival. Whether or not there is any truth in the last statement, it is certain that the archbishop had made an arrangement with the Pope which should not have been countenanced within the Church.

Thus it was when Luther struck at the doctrine of indulgences in 1517, when he nailed his ninety-five theses to the door of the church at Wittenberg. Luther deplored the abuses that were prevalent in connection with the indulgences, but his main aim eventually was not only to attack abuses, but the doctrine of the Church as well, and to find within the Church recognition for his own belief that "faith alone" was necessary to salvation.

V. Luther

In order to understand Luther it will be necessary to review briefly his early life and training. Luther's father seems to have been a pious man, but was severe with his children, and is said to have had an ungovernable temper. Luther's mother was also a severe disciplinarian, and Luther besides had the misfortune of receiving his early

training from teachers, whose one method of inciting interest in studies was by flogging the pupils. Such treatment had, as might be expected, a very bad effect on Martin who was naturally of a nervous temperament. Luther, in speaking of this early training said, "My parents' severity made me timid; their sternness and the strict life they led me made me afterwards go into a monastery and become a monk. They heartily meant it well, but they did not understand the art of adjusting their punishments." (1)

Luther after obtaining his Master's degree at Erfurt in 1505, began his study of jurisprudence, but soon after joined the Augustinian order of Monks at Erfurt. There has always been doubt as to why he took the step at this time. The story of a friend's sudden death is not well substantiated. "We have no thoroughly trustworthy authority for this; it is possible that it may have increased his previous melancholy, and put an end to long hesitation." (2) On the same page with the above Hausser quotes from Jurgeus, It is certain that in the dedication to his father of his work on monastic vows, Luther refers to a "forced and extorted vow" taken when he was encompassed with the fear and horror of death; and here and afterwards he states that he never became a monk of his own free will; that his vow was not worth a fig; that it was not taken heartily and willingly." Smith on the other hand feels that there is no adequate explanation for the change that came over Luther at the age of

(1) Hausser, L., Period of the Reformation, page 4.

(2) Ibid, page 7.

twenty-one, for pious and serious as he was, his thoughts did not seem to turn towards the monastic life as a boy.(1) As he was returning to Erfurt, as Smith says, from a visit home, he was overtaken by a terrific thunder-storm, in which his excited imagination saw a divine warning to forsake the world. Frightened, he vowed to St. Ann to become a monk, though at once he regretted the promise. He discharged the vow, however, by entering the Monastery at Erfurt.

In 1507 Luther was ordained a priest, and in the winter of 1510-11 he traveled to Rome, though it is not clear whether he went on business for his order, or to make a pilgrimage. The entire journey took him five months, approximately a month being spent in Rome itself. While he was there he made observations which he afterwards wove into fearful accusations of the Papacy and the Papal Court, especially in his writing to the German Nobles. The conditions in Rome did not immediately estrange him from the Papacy, however, as he was still a Catholic, loyal to the ideals of the Church, if not approving of the conduct of the incumbents of church offices. (2)

During Luther's first ten years in the cloister, there are no records of disobedience or misconduct on his part, rather he was considered by his comrades almost as a saint. He imposed all sorts of privations on himself, mortified the

(1) Smith, P., Age of Reformation, page 64.

(2) Haussier, L., Period of the Reformation, page 15.

flesh and passed whole nights in prayer and fasting. Still he could not rid himself of the idea that he was doomed to hell. In view of this it would seem that Hausser's comment on Luther's pilgrimage to Rome, was more nearly correct than that of Lindsay, who says, "At length the crisis of his life came. In 1511 he was sent on business to Rome. He went there a medieval theologian; he came back a Protestant; he went believing in justification by works; he came back believing in justification by faith."(1)

Although Luther had a very good reputation, which he deserved, he could not free himself from the desires of the flesh. He felt himself helpless. It would seem now that Luther's chief difficulty was in confusing temptation with wrong doing, and concupiscence of the flesh with sin. Mentally tormented, he turned to the Gospels and found in Paul's Epistles to the Romans (I,17) the statement "The just shall live by his faith." Seizing upon the idea, and seeming to find confirmation in Tauler, Augustine, and numerous other writers, he evolved his famous doctrine of "justification by faith alone."(2) He believed it a revelation of the Holy Ghost, that showed him that salvation was to be obtained by abandonment of oneself to God's mercy, and that man was saved not by good works, but by faith in the Redeemer. This doctrine of "faith alone", as Wiclif's "dominion of grace", logically carried out totally repudiated the whole Church, clergy and sacraments.

(1) Lindsay, T.M., The Reformation, page 8.

(2) Smith, P., Age of Reformation, page 65.

Luther's occasion for attack upon the Church was his objection to the abuses of the Leonine indulgence, and his nailing of the ninety-five theses to the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg, October 31, 1517. According to Hausser however, "Luther's Theses are something very different from an angry protest against a growing abuse; they bear the stamp of his whole religious system, based upon the Pauline doctrine of 'justification by faith' and the Augustinian doctrine of 'election of grace'. They set forth an entirely different view of life, and of the relation of men to God and the Church, and had a far deeper significance than a mere attack upon the traffic in indulgences as an abuse." (1)

Luther at the time of the statement of his Theses, had apparently pondered over many of the doctrines that were to be the basis of the Reformation. Others, such as his belief in individual authority in interpretation of the Bible, were not entirely formulated by him until later. Speaking of the Theses again, Hausser says that they "did not express the least enmity to the Pope, but were so much the more bitter against the 'indulgence preachers' shameless and wanton words' which he strictly distinguished from the doctrine of the Church." (2) It was not until his debate with Doctor Eck in 1519, that Luther stated clearly that the Pope is not an authority in matters of faith and morals, and in the interpretation of the Scripture; and even general councils are not infallible, but Scripture comes to

(1) Hausser, L., Period of Reformation, page 11.

(2) Ibid, page 18.

the individual Christian man through the aid of the Holy Ghost.

Luther's rejection of auricular confession in 1517, was according to Lindsay, very clear. "Luther in his Theses and in his sermon had declared that the inward spiritual facts of man's experience were of infinite value compared with the outward expression of these in stereotyped forms recognized by the Church; and he had also made it clear that in such a solemn thing as forgiveness of sin man could go to God directly without any human mediation".(1) Luther's interpretation of the Bible in this instance, according to Lindsay, differed widely from that of the Church.

The attitude of Luther as shown in his other writings on the subject of Penance, does not seem in all cases to bear out Lindsay's interpretation. For example, in the Babylonish Captivity, on the sacrament of Penance, Luther criticises the Roman clergy: "The first and capital evil connected with this sacrament is, that they have totally done away with the sacrament itself, leaving not even a vestige of it."(2) Luther then goes on to say: "There is no doubt that confession of sins is necessary, and is commanded by God.....If the saints must not deny their sin, how much more ought those who are guilty of great or public offences to confess them. But the most effective proof of the institution of confession is given when Christ tells us that an

(1) Lindsay, T.M., The Reformation, page 5.

(2) Luther, M., The Reformation, page 205.

offending brother must be told of his fault, brought before the Church, accused, and finally, if he neglect to hear the Church, excommunicated." (1) Luther does not object to auricular confession to the priest: "The secret confession, however, which is now practiced, though it cannot be proved from Scripture, is in my opinion, highly satisfactory, and useful or even necessary. I could not wish it not to exist; nay, I rejoice that it does exist in the Church of Christ, for it is the one great remedy for afflicted consciences;" (2)

After the statement of the Theses, events moved rapidly. Attempts at reconciliation between Luther and the Pope were fruitless. Luther refused to go to Rome, and asked for a general council to discuss the matter. Melitz, the Pope's representative, sent to confer with Luther, was not trustworthy. His motive seemed to be to gain the political good graces of Frederick of Saxony, rather than to arrive at any fundamental adjustment with Luther. The result of Melitz's mission was merely to silence temporarily discussion on both sides of the question, and this armistice was soon broken by the debate of Doctor Eck, but Luther soon became the principal disputant. (3) It was at this debate that Luther definitely rejected the primacy of St. Peter, hence of the Popes, the infallibility of a general council, and the Epistle of St. James, containing the words, "faith without work is dead." Luther also declared here that "every

(1) Luther, M., The Reformation, page 209.

(2) Ibid, page 209.

(3) Lindsay, T.M., The Reformation, page 9.

opinion of Hus was not wrong." (1) After Luther's rejection of the work of the Council of Constance as concerned Hus, Eck refused to debate with him further, but went to Rome, where, with others who had heard the debate, he testified against Luther in the formal suit tried before the Pope. The trial was lengthy and the final decision was not pronounced until June 1520. Even the bull, entitled "Exsurge Domine" did not bring immediate excommunication but condemned forty-one of his propositions as heresy, forbade him to preach, and threatened excommunication, if within a period of sixty days after these warnings he did not submit. Needless to say, Luther did not retract any of his statements, burned the bull, and issued numerous pamphlets against the Pope and clergy, among the most famous of which were "The Babylonish Captivity of the Church of Christ" and "To the Nobility of the German Nation".

The next outstanding event in Luther's career was his trial at the Diet of Worms. The Diet was opened by Charles in January 1521, and the Papal nuncio urged the assembled princes to put an end to the heresies of Luther at once, and without hearing him. But the princes had their own quarrels with Rome, and urged besides, that it would be both unjust and undignified to condemn a man unheard and untried. (2) The temporal power, in the case of heresy, had always imposed penalties after the final judgment of the Church had

(1) Lindsay, T.M., The Reformation, page 10.

(2) Ibid, page 14.

been given as to the offence. In this case the Papal nuncio held that the voice of the Church had spoken, Luther had been condemned as a heretic, and the temporal power, without further discussion, should proceed to carry out the ban of the Empire. The princes prevailed, however; the Emperor tried to steer a middle course; and the verdict was given after an unsatisfactory trial. At the end of the Diet we find Luther stating, "I can retract nothing unless I be convinced either from Scripture or by clear argument. It is as clear as day that both Pope and Councils have often erred. My conscience must submit to the word of God; to act against conscience is unholy and dangerous; and therefore I cannot and will not retract."

Luther had been given a safe conduct to the Diet; he had yet seventy-one days after the end of the Diet, before the ban of the Empire would become effective. On his way home, as is well known, he was kidnapped by his friend, the Elector of Saxony, and carried to Wartburg, where he remained concealed, and translated the Bible into German. It was not until the coming of the Zwickau "prophets" to Wittenberg that Luther reappeared in public life.

During Luther's absence, the Protestant movement had been carried on by Melancthon, who endeavored to combine Humanism and Protestantism; and by Carlstadt, who leaned toward the teachings of Zwingli, especially concerning the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. (1) These two men were

(1) Hulme, E.M., Renaissance and Reformation, page 234.

persuaded to some extent by Nicholas Storch, Thomas Munzer, and Marcus Stubner, leaders of the Zwickau "prophets", to sanction the new movement. The masses of the people in Wittenberg were stirred. "The images were torn from the churches; even Carlstadt preached against learning, study and universities; the Reformation was in danger of speedy destruction." (1) Luther was aroused; he had no sympathy with these extremists. In December, 1521, he wrote, "Now this business has been undertaken in a harum scarum fashion, and with great rashness and violence. I do not like it at all, and that you may know it when it comes to the point, I will not stand by you in this business." Luther believed in individual interpretation of the Bible; but these people relied exclusively upon direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit, casting aside both Church and Bible; hence Luther saw that they had gone too far. Regardless of the ban of the Empire, and the kindly advice of the Elector, Luther returned to Wittenberg, preached to the people, and through his magnetic personality, restored order and his form of worship.

For some time after his return to Wittenberg, Luther was the symbol of German nationality, and the idol of the people. The townspeople favored him; the literary men of Germany looked upon him as their leader; the free knights wished him as an ally; and the suffering peasants looked to him as the leader of social reform as well as religious. The situation was later changed; Luther and his church became

(1) Lindsay, T.M., The Reformation, page 17.

the servants of the nobles, and the cause was the Peasant Rebellion of 1524.

The peasants' revolt was nothing entirely new; uprisings had taken place all over Europe during the fifteenth century; but the revolts had been quelled, and the cause of unrest had not been removed. The demands of the peasants were of long standing, and many of them were just. The age old feudal system was worn out and intolerable. During the Renaissance period, Roman law had been revived to the great disadvantage of the peasants, and the extension of the rights of the nobles continued. Pastures, commons, woodlands were taken without heed to the complaints of the peasants. Although poverty was common, it was not the chief cause of rebellion; rather the improved economic condition of the peasants showed them better things and caused additional unrest. (1)

At first the peasants looked to Luther as their leader, and at first, though he did not enthusiastically welcome leadership, he was not opposed to it. The demands of the peasants were stated in the Twelve Articles, which were in brief: that the peasants should have the power to choose, support and dismiss their pastors who must preach the "pure Gospel", and that the nobles were to cease all unlawful encroachments upon the rights of the peasants, giving up also many of their own feudal privileges. Upon the Promulgation of these articles, Luther first spoke mildly of the

(1) Hulme, E.M., Renaissance and Reformation, page 246.

peasants, making just accusations against the nobles, to whom he said, "I might now make common cause with the peasants against you, who impute this insurrection to the Gospel and to my teaching, whereas I have never ceased to enjoin obedience to authority, even to authority so tyrannical and intolerable as yours.....Some of the twelve articles of the peasants are so equitable that they dishonor you before God and the world.....You must not refuse their demand as to choosing pastors who may preach to them the Gospel; the government has only to see that insurrection and rebellion be not preached; but there must be perfect liberty to preach the true Gospel as well as the false. The remaining articles which regard the social state of the peasants are equally just. Government is not established for its own interests, nor to make the people subservient to the caprice and evil passions, but for the interest of the people. Your exactions are intolerable; you take away from the peasant the first fruit of his labor in order to spend his money upon your finery and luxury.....Now as regards you, my dear friends, though peasants, you want the free preaching of the Gospel to be secured to you. God will assist your just cause if you follow up your work with conscience and justice. In that case you are sure to triumph in the end.....You must not take justice into your own hands; that is also the prescription of the natural law. Do you not see that you put yourselves in the wrong by rebellion?....Pray, my dear friends, stop and consider before you proceed further.

Your quotations from the Bible do not prove your case." (1) Luther believed in individual interpretation of the bible, yet he believed the peasants were mistaken in their interpretation. There can be no doubt that the peasants went too far; encouraged by Luther's words they killed and plundered. Their main objective was social reform, and Luther feared that the Reformation was in danger. The princes, who had formerly aided him in his work were about to forsake him, and the peasants did not heed his warnings. Finally despairing of any aid to the Reformation coming from the peasants, he wrote the article entitled "Against the Murderous and Rapacious Hordes of the Peasants", in which he called the lower classes "brands of hell" and "limbs of Satan". Turning to the nobles, whom he had formerly accused of great injustice, he urged every man against the peasants thus: "strike them down, throttle and stab them in secret or in public". "The peasants" he continued, "are like mad dogs, who must be killed in self-defence; they have deserved death in body and soul, and a "prince can now deserve mercy better by shedding blood, than others by prayers." (2) Years later Luther wrote, All their blood is on my head, for I bade that they be struck down; but I put it all on to our Lord God, who commanded me thus to speak." (3)

Luther was convinced during the revolt, that the temporal and spiritual objects could not be pursued together, and that reform had no worse ally than revolution. (4)

(1) Lindsay, T.M., The Reformation, pages 22 and 23.

(2) Henderson, Short History of Germany, Vol I, page 322.

(3) Ibid, page 323.

(4) Hausser, L., Period of Reformation, page 103.

The revolt ended in mutual distrust between Luther and the lower classes. The peasants felt that he had betrayed them to their enemies, and in large numbers they turned again to Catholicity. Luther no longer had confidence in the people. He turned to the princes and the secular power to govern the Church. The result was that in the Lutheran Church, discipline was maintained by the Consistorial System, the Consistory being patterned on the court of the medieval Bishops, and being appointed and governed by the supreme civil authority.

The political aspects of Luther's success are worthy of notice. While national patriotism was developing throughout Europe, in Germany a process of decentralization and a growth of local patriotism was taking place. The Emperor had little or no power, except as he derived it from his hereditary possessions; princes were practically independent, and towns and cities, by forming alliances among themselves followed up their own interests. The electors, since the promulgation of the "Golden Bull", had advanced in power and now disputed the authority of the Emperor. In addition to internal dissension, the Empire was attacked from without; especially during the reign of Charles V, war was almost ceaseless, now being waged against France, now against the Papacy, on the east against the Turks, and in the south against the Mediterranean pirates. The relations of the Emperor Maximilian with the Papacy were hardly satisfactory, and at the outbreak of the Reformation, instead of trying to suppress it, Maximilian allowed the new movement as a threat against the Pope. Later in the Diet of

Worms, the nobles, working against the Empire, saw in Luther an aid to their cause. Luther's most famous supporters were powerful men: Frederick of Saxony, Albert of Brandenburg, and Philip of Hesse. Although the ban of the Empire was published after the Diet of Worms, no action was taken against Luther. The Emperor, distracted by foreign affairs, returned to Spain, and German affairs were left in the hands of the regency. The Count of Palatine, regent in the south, was a bitter enemy of the Emperor; Frederick of Saxony, in the north, was a known friend of Luther; neither for political reasons, if not for religious, would oppose the Reformer. (1) At the Diet of Nurnberg in 1522 and in 1524, the Pope's nuncio found that the German princes would not listen to his demand for Luther's death. They rather pressed on him demands of their own, and had drawn up a long list of grievances related to the very matters for which Luther had been condemned, and for these they demanded redress from the Pope. (2) In self-interest the princes of Germany used Luther as an excuse to combat the authority of the Pope and Emperor; Luther stood for independence and so did they.

After the peasants' revolt, Luther turned to the nobles to carry on the Reformation. The Reformation, like the revival of learning under the Despots, he thought could not be attained except in peace under absolute rulers.

Luther's desire to keep the good will of the princes, as well as his mode of interpreting the Scriptures, are shown in

(1) Hausser, L., Period of the Reformation, page 32.

(2) Lindsay, T.M., The Reformation, page 18.

his sanctioning of the bigamy of Philip of Hesse. "The document sanctioning the bigamy of the landgrave, was signed by Martin Bucer, Luther, and Melancthon, and is a humiliating paper. It may be thus summarized: According to the original commandment of God, marriage is between one man and one woman, and this original precept has been confirmed by our Lord, but sin brought it about that first Lamech, then the Heathen, and then Abraham, took more than one wife, and this was permitted under the law. We are now living under the Gospel, which does not give prescribed rules for the external life, and has not expressly prohibited bigamy. Nevertheless the pastorate, in single cases of the direct need and to prevent worse, may sanction bigamy in a purely exceptional way. Such a bigamous marriage is a true marriage in the sight of God (the necessity being proved) but it is not a true marriage in the eye of public law and custom. Such a marriage, and the dispensation for it, ought to be kept secret; if it is made known, the dispensation becomes....invalid and the marriage is mere concubinage.(1)

The spread of Luther's doctrines, though rapid at first, was checked by the peasants' revolt, and in the end outshadowed by the Swiss reformers. His church was firmly established, however, under the princes of North Germany, and is now also the predominant religion in the Scandinavian countries. Furthermore, Luther's work prepared the way for the Swiss reformers in the other European countries. Lutheran doctrines were early carried to the Netherlands, and Calvin himself came in contact

(1) Smith, P., Age of Reformation, page 150.

with them in France. In England, Henry VIII, though repudiating Papal authority, waged war against the importation of Luther's doctrines, yet to no avail, as they were widely circulated during the reign of his son, Edward.

VI. Zwingli

The first of the noted Swiss Reformers, Ulrich Zwingli, was unlike Luther in many respects, particularly in education and temperament, yet he agreed with the German Reformer in many essentials of doctrine. Unlike Luther, however, Zwingli was first a humanist, and then a theologian. Zwingli's interests early centered in the classics, and Erasmus was his idol. During the early part of his life he was a man of the Renaissance rather than of the Reformation. Zwingli's life had not been above reproach, but in September 1519, he fell ill of the plague, and as a consequence turned to the reform of religion. Like Luther, Zwingli started first with preaching against indulgences. He incurred the enmity of the clergy by his statement that Luther's books should not be destroyed, by his attack on the corruption of the Church, and by his denial of the necessity of fasting and of the celibacy of the clergy.

At a council held by the Bishop of Constance in 1523, Zwingli declared that no hierarchy was necessary, that the Eucharist was only a commemorative rite, that veneration of the saints was idolatry, that the vestments of the clergy caused hypocrisy, and that Holy Orders, auricular confession

absolution, clerical celibacy, were all to be condemned. He was soon after declared a heretic.

Although Zwingli and Luther had much in common, there was intense rivalry between them, Luther even combining with the Catholics to suppress the followers of Zwingli. In speaking of their mutual animosity, Smith says, Luther always assumed that he had a monopoly of truth, and that those who proposed different views were infringing on his copyright, so to speak. "Zwingli, Carlstadt, and Oecolampadius would never have known Christ's Gospel rightly ' he opined 'had not Luther written of it first'. He soon compared them to Absalom rebelling against his father David, and to Judas betraying his Master. Zwingli, on his side, was almost equally sure that he had discovered the truth independently of Luther, and while expressing approbation of his work, refused to be called by his name. His invective was only a shade less virulent than was that of his opponent." (1) The greatest conflict between Zwingli and Luther arose over the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. Philip the Landgrave of Hesse had endeavored to reconcile the Protestant factions, by calling the leaders together at a conference at Marburg, in October 1529. Zwingli and Oecolampadius came from Switzerland, Bucer from Strassburg; Luther and Melancthon from Wittenberg. The Reformers agreed upon all doctrines but that of the Holy Eucharist. All rejected the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation, but could not agree upon a substitute. For

(1) Smith, P., Age of Reformation, page 109.

Luther, the words "Hoc est Corpus Meum" meant definitely that Christ's Body was present with the bread, there could be no other interpretation, even though the fact could not be perceived by the senses. Thus Luther, like the Catholics, believed in the true presence of Christ in the Eucharist, but without change of the substance of the bread; he differed only on a philosophical question as to how the bread could be Christ's Body, and came to the conclusion that the bread and the Body of Christ were present together. Hence his view was called Consubstantiation, as opposed to Transubstantiation, the Catholic doctrine, which declared that the bread was entirely changed in substance into the Body of Christ.

Zwingli, on the other hand, rejected both Consubstantiation and Transubstantiation, declaring that the change of bread into the Body of Christ was impossible and contrary to the senses, "Hoc est Corpus Meum" must be explained away as a figure of speech. "In a long and learned controversy neither side convinced the other but each became so exasperated as to believe the other possessed a devil". (1) Thus the conference at Marburg came to nothing, and Protestantism remained divided.

As regards religious orders, Zwingli was in accord with other Reformers; he disapproved of monasteries. He did all in his power to suppress the monasteries in and around Zurich, and was quite successful. A part of the money thus obtained

(1) Smith, P., Age of Reformation, page 109.

was devoted to the support of the town's new ministers of the Gospel; the remainder was to be expended for educational purposes.(1) Even in Switzerland the monasteries were an important economic as well as religious factor; hence Zwingli, like the Protestants of all European countries, felt that the revenues should be devoted to the public economic welfare, rather than for the purpose for which they had originally been donated to the monastic orders.

Zwingli did not, like Luther, base the government of his church upon the nobility, but rather upon the people. In all the cantons of Switzerland, the power belonged to the people, hence the Reformed Church took on a democratic appearance. There was no church government apart from the civil government, but Zwingli wished to impress the principle of the "spiritual priesthood of all believers", on the people.(2) On Zwingli's development of church government, Smith seems to take a different view: "Zwingli took the position of an Old Testament prophet, subordinating state to church. At first he had agreed with the Anabaptists in separating theoretically church and state. But he soon came to believe that though true Christians might need no government, it was necessary to control the wicked, and for this purpose he favored an aristocratic policy. All matters of morals were strictly regulated, severe laws being passed against taverns and gambling, The inhabitants

(1) Lindsay, T.M., The Reformation, page 52.

(2) Ibid, page 156.

were forced to attend church."(1)

It is obvious, however, whether the church was subordinate to the state, as Lindsay believes, or the state was subordinate to the church, as Smith says, the two were very closely related, and it was the essential democracy of both that would seem to cause a misunderstanding of their mutual relation.

Zwingli died in battle on October 11, 1531. By 1529 Zwingli's reformed church had won over the greater part of Switzerland, only the forest cantons remained Catholic. The forest cantons, alarmed, allied with Austria, and on June 8, 1529, Zwingli declared war. The Protestants far outnumbered the Catholics, so without bloodshed the treaty of Cappel was signed, forcing the Catholics to renounce the Austrian alliance, and to allow the majority of citizens to decide the religion of the cantons, but Catholics were to be denied toleration in the Evangelical cantons.(2)

The peace was not long kept, however, for when Zwingli heard that the Catholics again were seeking aid from Austria, he took the aggressive. This time Zurich did not receive the aid of Berne, the Protestants were outnumbered, and Zwingli was killed. A second treaty of Cappel followed, much like the first, providing that religion was not to be a matter of compulsion, and that usages were to be according to the majority.(3) The religious alignment between the cantons

(1) Smith, P., Age of Reformation, page 156.

(2) Ibid, page 158.

(3) Lindsay, T.M., The Reformation, page 53.

has remained ever since in the way in which it was in Zwingli's day.

On the whole it might be said that Zwingli was the product of a different environment than Luther, and that in his religious system he was far more logical, and on the whole he was far more tolerant, yet as Smith says, "Zwingli was a persecutor and was bound by many of the dogmatic prepossessions of his time. But his religion had in it less of miracle, and more of reason, than that of any other founder of a church in the sixteenth century." (1) It should always be remembered that during the sixteenth century no one sect, Catholic or Protestant, had a monopoly on either persecution or toleration. Yet it should be remembered that Zwingli and his followers were far more moderate than most of their contemporaries.

VII. Calvin

The third of the great Reformers, and the successor of Zwingli, was Calvin. Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion, dedicated to Francis I, were a plea not for toleration, but for an acceptance of the new Gospel as opposed to Catholicism. These Institutes which summed up the whole of Protestant doctrine, were clear, logical and comprehensive; and it is remarkable that Calvin, or anyone else could have written such a masterpiece at the age of twenty-seven. The Institutes were an analysis of Protestantism. "There is not one original thought in any of

(1) Smith, P., Age of Reformation, page 159.

Calvin's works. I do not mean "original" in any narrow sense, for to the searchers of sources it seems that there is literally nothing new under the sun. But there is nothing in Calvin for which ample authority cannot be found in his predecessors. Recognizing the Bible as his only standard he interpreted it according to the new Protestant doctors."(1)

Calvin's central doctrine, that of predestination, is not found in Luther's works. Luther believed that "faith alone" was essential to salvation, whereas in Calvin's theology, God alone was responsible, through election for man's salvation or damnation. Calvin firmly believed that the elect were bound to display the outward sign of election to grace, which was moral behavior. Hence Calvin enforced an exceedingly strict moral code. Calvin's code of behavior, corresponding with that of later Puritanism, is too well known to be described at length here. It suffices to say that although in his early life Calvin may be considered as one of the humanists, he had cast off the humanistic love of beauty and art, and the Renaissance freedom and toleration for a strict moral code. "The purified worship was to take place within bare, unadorned walls; no picture of Christ, nor pomp of any kind, was to disturb the aspirations of the soul. Life outside the temple was also to be a service of God; games, swearing, dancing, singing, worldly amusements and pleasure were regarded by him as sins, as

(1) Smith, P., Age of Reformation, page 164.

much as vice and crime."(1)

Calvin based the Theocratic government of Geneva entirely upon the Bible. Each man watched his brother; the consistory watched over all. Private crimes were punished as readily as public crimes, and in all cases penalties were extremely severe. Attendance at the church services was strictly enforced. "As I can see that we cannot forbid men all diversions" sighed Calvin, "I confine myself to those that are really bad." This class was sufficiently large."(2) Calvin did not restrict himself merely to overseeing the morals of the people; he also closely regulated their domestic affairs.

Orthodoxy in Calvin's eyes, was certainly as important as morality, and it was rigidly enforced. "The slightest assertion of liberty on the part of another was stamped out as a crime. Sebastian Castellio, a sincere Christian and Protestant, but more liberal than Calvin, fell under suspicion because he called the Song of Songs obscene, and because he made a new French version of the Bible to replace the one of Olivetan, officially approved."(3)

Another example of Calvin's insistence on orthodoxy was his treatment of Michael Servetus, who because of his teachings concerning the Trinity, Baptism, and articles of faith, had been condemned to death by the Catholics. Servetus escaped to Switzerland, but his teachings dis-

(1) Haussier, L., The Period of the Reformation, page 247.

(2) Smith, P., Age of Reformation, page 171.

(3) Ibid, page 175.

agreed also with those of Calvin, and in Geneva he died at the stake. Calvin, like both Catholics and Protestants, and unlike the humanists, was intolerant.

At Geneva, Calvin's successor was Theodore Beza, under whom the theocracy became a little more moderate. Geneva remained for years, however, the center of Protestantism in Europe.

VIII. Anabaptists

In strange contrast to the Protestantism of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin, was that of the Anabaptists. The sect first appeared in the neighborhood of Wittenberg, and were there known as the "Zwickau prophets". They were severely condemned by Luther. Their doctrine spread, however, and found special enthusiasm in Holland, where it also found protection. Of the Anabaptists in Switzerland, Lindsay writes of Thomas Munzer and his disciples: "Their doctrines were very extravagant. They taught that all believers, being a spiritual priesthood, were specially taught of God, and did not need any rule of life outside their own hearts and consciences; so they burned their Bibles publicly. They held the most extravagant opinions. Christ had said that His followers must become like little children; and so Anabaptist enthusiasts behaved like children, played with dolls in the streets of Zurich, and did other things equally absurd. The enthusiasm at last became a sort of madness, and blood was shed in consequence. The council bore long with their vagaries, but were compelled

to expel them, and then the Reformation went on quietly as before." (1) The Anabaptists have not apparently much claim to a direct relation with the Renaissance, unless in their individualism and freedom of thought. The Anabaptists destroyed books and works of art, and cast aside the Bible and all scholarly commentary upon it. The spread of Protestantism was carried on by less radical sects.

In the Scandinavian countries Lutheranism rapidly took hold. The question was partly religious, and partly economic. The Swedes under Gustavus Vasa, had recently broken away from Denmark and Norway, and Gustavus Vasa became the central agency in the introduction of Protestantism. "There seems to be no reason for thinking that the king was not a religious man, thoroughly impressed with the truth of Evangelical teaching; but he had other motives in his zeal for the Reformation. He wished money to enable him to govern, he desired to free the peasants from their burdens, and he wished to overthrow the powerful ecclesiastical authority which stood in the way of kingly rule." (2) Gustavus had to proceed cautiously, for at first the peasants were averse to changing the doctrines of the Church, and the nobles were afraid of an attack on church property, since their own might be the object of confiscation next. In the end, however, the victory of Protestantism was complete.

In Denmark and Norway much the same program was carried out, and for practically the same reasons. The prince, who

(1) Lindsay, T.M., The Reformation, page 52

(2) Ibid, page 43.

was a Lutheran, first obtained toleration for Lutheranism then confiscated Roman Church property, and finally had Protestantism accepted as the state religion. In the Scandinavian countries Catholicism died.

Conditions were entirely different in Italy and Spain. In the Italian peninsula, the Renaissance had been early, and had been concerned with art rather than with religion. Furthermore, the Popes in Italy were near at hand to quell any uprisings, and the political situation instead of being antagonistic to the Papacy, included the Papacy as one of the factors in its balance of powers. In Spain the monarchy and the Church were closely united; the spirit of nationalism instead of being antagonistic to a foreign church, centered around the Roman Catholic religion as a result of the age long struggle with the Moors. What there was of art and literature in Spain was on the whole, a part of Catholicism rather than opposed to it.

In France the national spirit had been opposed to the Papacy since the days of Philip IV and of Boniface, and the leaders of the Renaissance had been opposed to the Church. The later political situation, however, had resulted in an alliance with Francis I and the Papacy, giving the king and nobility a privileged place within the Church in France. The monarch during the Reformation then was guardian of the Church, but the middle classes were moved by no royal fears of the Hapsburgs. They were influenced at first by the Lutherans who were, however, never able to unite to any considerable

degree. With the coming of Calvin and the carrying of his doctrines back into France, those of the French who were influenced toward Protestantism, took over the Swiss faith and were known as Huguenots. The movement continued until under Henry IV of Navarre, toleration was granted the Huguenots by the edict of Nantes, April 13, 1598.

In England the Reformation came slowly but surely. The work of Wiclif and his followers probably had some lasting influence upon the English mind; The monarchy certainly had worked against the Church. The humanists had criticised conditions very freely, although many of the leaders, as Sir Thomas More held to the doctrines of the Church. The first great break came with Henry VIII. Although known as the "Defender of the Faith" because of his opposition to Luther, Henry broke with Rome over the question of his divorce from Catherine of Aragon. Henry did not wish to bring in Lutheran doctrines; by many he is even now held to have been a Catholic; but he did repudiate one vital doctrine, that of the supremacy of the Pope. Henry declared himself to be the head of the Church of England, and dissolved the monasteries, partly for economic reasons. Parliament agreed; and many prominent Catholics gave up their lives rather than to take the Oath of Supremacy. During the reign of Edward VI, many Lutheran changes were brought in; these were all repudiated by Mary, who returned to the Roman communion. During the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, England became definitely Protestant under the Church of England. Calvinism gradually

came in, though it was opposed by James who abhorred Scotch Presbyterianism. Calvinism was an established factor at the time of the Puritan Revolution.

In Scotland brought in by John Nox and his followers, was rapid, taking place during the childhood of Mary Queen of Scots, so that when she returned from France, it was an accomplished fact. In Scotland, as in Scandinavia, the Reformation was economic as well as religious, the dissolution of the monasteries being of importance. The form of church government was based to a great extent on Calvinism, and came to be known as Presbyterianism.

The Reformation was then a revolution against the medieval Church; its causes extended back into the Middle Ages; its results, proceeding from the culmination of the movement in the sixteenth century, vitally affect the present day.

The Renaissance and the Reformation have been fully described as to their nature; it now remains to designate the relation between the two great movements.

The Relation between the Renaissance and the Reformation

The Renaissance and the Reformation have been discussed; there remains but to consider the relation between the two. Upon this question there is no definite consensus of opinion among historians; the conclusions here must be drawn from a survey of the facts already given.

When the political aspects of both the Renaissance and the Reformation are studied it is seen that there is a close relation between the two movements. The growth of nationality, the dominant phase of politics during the Renaissance, is seen to be a direct cause of the Reformation. In Bohemia, England, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries, the growth of nationality was closely interwoven with an ever increasing discontent with the Church, especially with the foreign element in the ecclesiastical government, and the collection of taxes for alien use. In England the national objection to the Papal appointment of foreigners to English benefices, and the condemnation by Wiclif of Church taxes destined for Avignonese expenditure, need but be mentioned. In France conditions seemed to be at variance with the general rule in the final culmination of the Reformation. Nationalism and Catholicity were there allied. Yet it will be remembered that the early growth of French nationalism, as the chief cause of the exile at Avignon and of the later schism, gave a decisive impetus to the Reformation, not only causing evils within the Church, but adding to the general discontent with ecclesiastical rule among the laity. At the outbreak of the Reformation alli-

ance of the Pope with the King of France kept France as a nation from joining the Protestant ranks; yet many of the French people, already alienated from the Church, joined with the Lutheran and later with the Calvinistic Reformers.

In addition with nationalism, other political factors of the Renaissance prepared a way for the Reformation. The feudal nobility of Germany, themselves in great part without religion of one kind or another, were glad to use any pretext to increase their own power; if union with the Lutheran forces seemed the best means of contending with Papal restrictions, and Imperial organization, they used it; if coalition with the Emperor against Protestantism seemed the best method of gaining political concessions, they adopted such procedure. The intrigues of Maurice of Saxony are not to be considered unique; the appropriation of Church property and aggrandizement upon the prerogatives of the Emperor were the aims of the princes; religion was their tool.

Imperial politics during the Renaissance also should be mentioned as a cause of the Reformation. Maximilian was only too glad of Luther's opposition to the Church, which he used as a weapon against the Pope; the rivalry between Hapsburg and Valois not only prepared the ground for the Reformation, but also rendered the Emperor powerless to cope with the Reformation when in full force it swept over Germany.

It is not necessary here to rediscuss the political situation during the Renaissance; in passing it should be noted that what is true in Germany is also true of the

political situation in the other countries of Europe. French politics as a cause of the Reformation have already been mentioned. In England the course of Henry VIII in making the monarch supreme in religious as well as in lay matters, and the stand taken by Elizabeth in avoiding Spanish domination aided the course of the Reformation. In the Scandinavian countries, the crown, in promoting monarchical security, sided with the Evangelics; in the Netherlands, the long struggle for independence determined the success of Protestantism. In each nation where the Reformation triumphed, politics were an important contributing factor.

The economic changes that took place during the later Middle Ages, and continued during both the Renaissance and Reformation, undoubtedly had a profound influence upon both movements.

The growth of trade, noticeable since the crusades, and enormously increased by the exploration of the East and by the discovery of the New World, had simultaneous but widely different effects upon the South and the North of Europe. In the North, the rise of cities and the extension of commerce brought with them the downfall of feudalism and a widespread financial upheaval, which in turn aided in the growth of monarchy and the spread of disaffection from the Roman Church. The new middle class which was to be found mainly in the cities, was fertile ground for the growth of Protestant ideas, particularly those of the reliance of the

individual upon conscience and personal interpretation of the Bible, and of the secularization of monastic property. The impoverishment of the old feudal nobility, which came as a result of the change of the basis of wealth from land to currency, and the acceptance in Germany by the nobility of the life of "Robber Barons", made that class, losing power, not only oppress the peasants, but turn to Protestantism as a form of social relief; the peasantry restless under increased burdens due to the unsettled economic conditions, and mistaking the change in religious belief for widespread political and social reform, turned in great numbers, especially in Germany, to the standards of the Reformation.

The economic upheaval during the period under discussion, as summarized here, and as explained more fully in previous pages, was clearly a cause of both Renaissance and Reformation. Speaking in terms of economics, it may be stated, that the Renaissance and Reformation, acted upon by varying circumstances, were parallel movements springing from the same cause.

More important perhaps, as a cause of the Renaissance and the Reformation than either political or economic changes, was the growth of individualism. The ideal of the Middle Ages had been humility of the individual, the sacrifice of the individual in this world for the good of the whole society in order that everlasting life might be attained for all. The ideal of the Renaissance was the glorification of

the individual, the exaltation of genius, and the thorough enjoyment of nature, of beauty and of life. The Reformation, like the Renaissance, glorified the individual, but in a different way; the Reformation repudiation of Roman authority in ecclesiastical matters opened the way for the freedom of the individual in religion; the individual was to seek eternal salvation, but he was to select his own means according to his own judgment. To be more definite, in Italy, where the Renaissance reached its greatest heights, the individual was recognized as supreme. In art, morality did not exist; the natural, the beautiful, and even the pagan, were sought; but the expression of personality was of paramount importance. Individual success was emphasized. Valla's expose of the forgery in the Donation of Constantine, was admired even by the Papacy, because of its brilliance, and not because of its moral or religious effect. Everything was permissible, as shown by Machiavelli in his ideas of government; all means were allowed; the only requirement that the individual had to meet was success. Such was the veritable status of the individual in the home of the Renaissance.

In the north of Europe the exaltation of the individual took a different form. Freedom, personal judgment and the development of genius in aid of morals and religion, was the desire of the North. Freedom of interpretation of the Scriptures was stressed; personal judgment in matters of scholarship as well as of faith was demanded. Purely sensual enjoyment of beauty, pagan or Christian, never characterized the

North as it did the South. Both forms of individualism, then, as has been shown before, were antagonistic to medieval conceptions, and were thus parallel elements in Renaissance and Reformation.

Humanism as a development north of the Alps, should be considered in connection with the Reformation. When the culmination of the work of the Reformers was reached, the attitude of the leading humanists toward it was by no means a unified one. Many of the humanists joined without reservation the ranks of the Reformers; some of them, like Von Hutten and Melancthon, were constant friends of Luther. Zwingli himself should be classified with the humanists, and Calvin, though he repudiated the Renaissance, received in his youth an education of humanistic nature. Others of the humanists turned toward the old Church, and saw there the hope of true learning. Many like More, abandoned earlier liberal tendencies, and were willing to sacrifice all in the cause of Catholicism. Perhaps the majority of the humanists preferred a middle ground. They were interested in the Scriptures because of the opportunity they gave for learning. They were interested in religion as something theoretical and not practical. many of the humanists, like Rabelais, turned toward a kindly and even somewhat pagan philosophy, looking upon religion as a matter of form. The greatness of humanism was exemplified in Erasmus, whose works help us to explain the relation between the Renaissance and Reformation. Erasmus believed in true learning as the savior of mankind;

whatever was opposed to learning, either the wornout dialectics of the later scholastics or the violence of most of the Reformers, he repudiated. Erasmus was not primarily concerned with dogma; in matters of faith he rested upon the authority of the Church, and was satisfied to let learned theologians settle points in dispute; but in matters of scholarship Erasmus advocated the advancement of learning.

The consensus of opinion concerning the Reformation among the humanists was not uniform; but there can be little doubt that humanism itself was a cause of the Reformation. Most of the humanists had been devoted to the cause of reform, in learning, morals, politics or religion. Public opinion was aroused; authority was questioned; and the means of revolt were provided. Erasmus, though disapproving of the later Reformation, admitted that he did much to cause it, though unwittingly. Clearly then humanism, a part of the Renaissance, was one of the contributing causes of the Reformation.

Although in many respects the Reformation was the result of the Renaissance, in some respects it was also a reaction. In the course of time the Reformation, perhaps, has been a fulfilment of the ideals of the Renaissance; in its immediate effects it was a hindrance to the spread of learning. Erasmus bewailed the revolutionary methods of the Reformers. Calvin cast aside humanism and replaced it with

a strict theocratic government opposed to all art and all learning not necessary for or compatible with his religious views. The Anabaptists were notably opposed to learning, destroying in many instances books and paintings of great value. The ideal of Protestantism was simplicity in material aids to worship; beautiful music, elaborate ritual, and magnificent churches were alike denied. All art was frowned upon; all learning not religious was unnecessary. Such was the ideal, in direct contrast with the Renaissance.

Furthermore, in the matter of toleration, the Reformation was not in accord with the Renaissance. In Italy, everything was tolerated by artists, despots, and Popes alike. Ideas were freely and fully expressed. Such also was the ideal, but not the practice of the Reformation. Freedom of judgment and of conscience was demanded, and the authority of Rome was denied; but in practice, the Reformers becoming free themselves endeavored, as is only human, to force others to agree with them. The intolerance of heresy by the Church was copied by the Reformers; the Lutherans denounced the Swiss Reformers; the Swiss condemned other innovators; and freedom of conscience was hardly more than a myth, exalted by all but realized by none. Catholic and Lutheran united against Zwinglian; Calvinist persecuted Anabaptist; and Anglican denounced Presbyterian. The Renaissance tolerated all among the learned; it withheld only imprudent statements from the uneducated lest they rebel. In matters of toleration, then, the Reformation would seem

to be nothing less than a reaction against the Renaissance.

The Renaissance and the Reformation are then, as it is seen, two closely related movements in human history, partly contemporaneous, and so connected in cause and result that they are almost incapable of separate discussion and definition. A survey of the elements of both, however, seem to indicate that in part, the Renaissance, through its political phase, and through humanism, was a cause of the Reformation; in part, as in economic development, and in the growth of individualism, the Renaissance is a movement parallel with the Reformation, and proceeding from the same cause; and finally, in its attitude toward learning and in its toleration of ideas, the Renaissance is not a forerunner of the Reformation, but rather the Reformation is an immediate reaction against the Renaissance.

In these conclusions there is no unanimity of opinion by historians; they seem to be justified, however, by a careful survey of the facts.

Summary

The Renaissance was a period of human history which brought with it marked political, economic and cultural changes, and the philosophy of which may be studied in the lives of the famous men, as Machiavelli, Savonarola, the Popes of the time, and Erasmus. The Reformation was a revolt against the religion of the Middle Ages, the growth of which was contemporaneous with that of the Renaissance, and the nature of which may be understood by a survey of the lives, works, and doctrines of its most famous disciples, Wiclif, Luther, Zwingli and Calvin. When the causes, essence and results of both Renaissance and Reformation are carefully analyzed and compared it is found that the Renaissance was, through its factors of nationalism and individualism, a cause of the Reformation; that the Renaissance and Reformation through the economic changes which were the cause of both, were parallel movements; and that the Renaissance was hindered by the Reformation, because of the intolerance of the latter, its reaction against the paganism of the Renaissance, and its lack of appreciation of beauty in art and literature.

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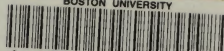
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